SEPT. 17, 2018

TIME

THE GOP AFTER MCCAIN
page 34

RACE AND THE AMERICAN SOUL
by EDDIE S. GLAUDE JR.

THE PERSISTENCE OF NANCY PELOSI

by MOLLY BALL

The Nature Conservancy

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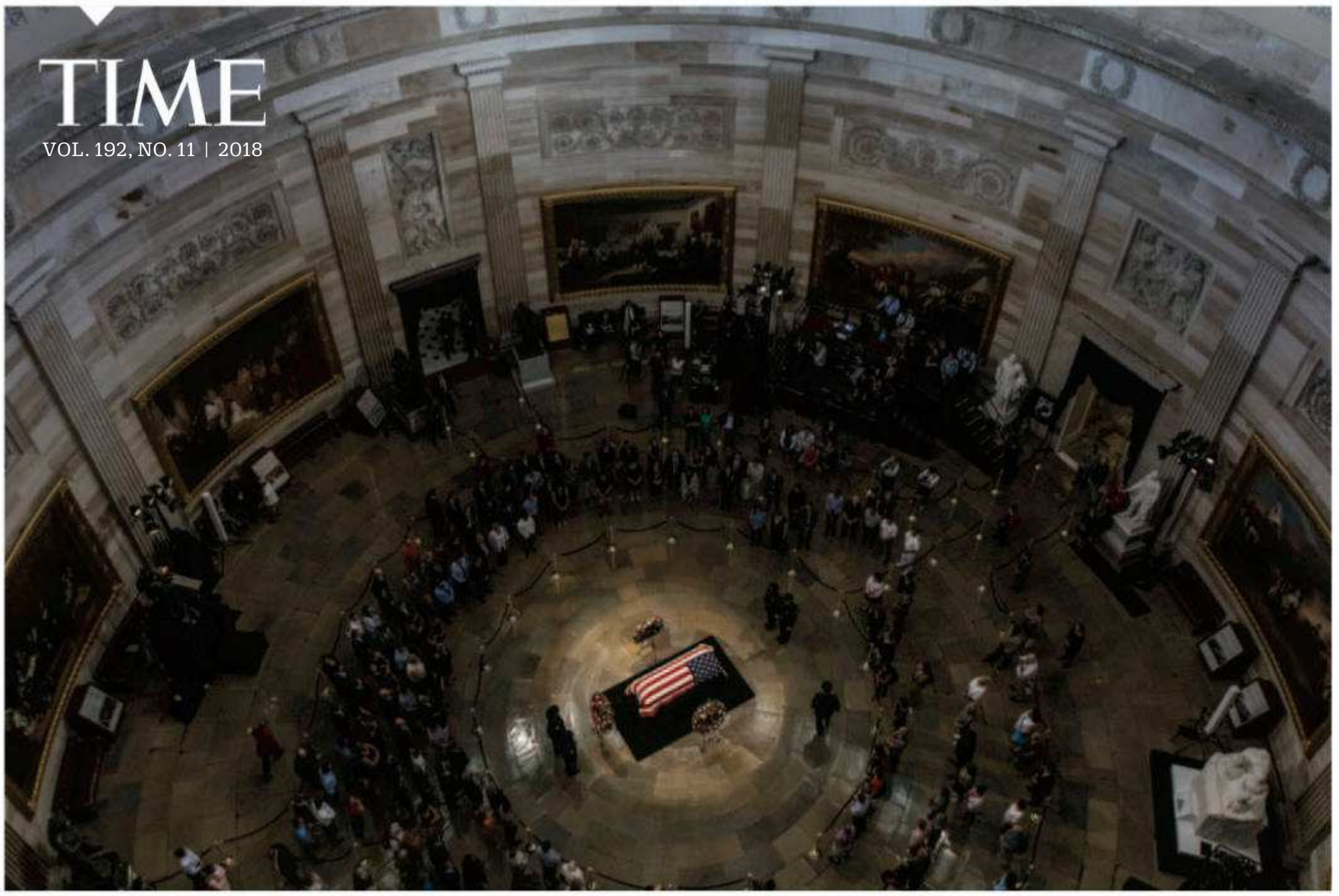
TIME
VOL. 192, NO. 11 | 2018



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The casket of U.S. Senator John McCain inside the Rotunda of the U.S. Capitol on Aug. 31

Photograph by Christopher Morris—VII for TIME

ON THE COVER:
Photograph by Luisa Dörr for TIME

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WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT ...

WORLD'S GREATEST PLACES TIME's newest franchise, which debuted in the Sept. 3/Sept. 10 issue, elicited feelings of wanderlust in readers like Roger Desmond of West Hartford, Conn., who said reading it was like "riding a magic carpet" around the globe. Jick Thompson of Lake Jackson, Texas, realized that as a teen, he lived about a mile from the King Abdulaziz Center for World Culture in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia. Barb Fisher of Crivitz, Wis., wondered if visitors were appreciating the destinations, as the photo of China's Tianjin Binhai Library showed more people holding cell phones than books. Some readers, however, called for future editions to feature more accessible destinations. As A. Lynn Buschhoff of Denver put it, "How can a place be great if 99% of the people can't enjoy it?"

> ***'The 100 places ... gave me an affordable virtual trip. I learned so much!'***
>
> **GWEN KEYS HITT,** Collins, Miss.

AFTER THE DYING THINGS ARE DONE Readers could relate to Susanna Schrobsdorff's column in the same issue, on deciding to put her uncle on life support. Arthur Freedman of Delray Beach, Fla., said the piece "touched a nerve" for him as someone who was likewise a relative's medical surrogate, while Dr. Harvey W. Oshrin of Vista, Calif., was reminded that having one's end-of-life preferences clearly documented can be "a source of comfort." Theresa Lynn, who runs a hospice facility in Allegan, Mich., saw the story as a reminder that such discussions, though hard, must be had "before the emergency."

> ***'Most of us will not be lucky enough to slip away in our sleep. "Something" will happen.'***
>
> **SUZANNE M. WEATHERS, R.N.,** Warren, Mich.

CRISIS IN KASHMIR TIME spoke to photographer Camillo Pasquarelli, who documented the human cost of the rise in pellet guns in the disputed territory of Kashmir. The Indian government gave the supposedly "nonlethal" weapons to security forces for crowd control during a spate of protests; many people wounded by them—and often blinded—are unable to go to school or hold a job. Above is a 26-year-old victim, Amir Kabir Beigh, next to an X-ray showing the pellets lodged in his head and shoulders. Multiple surgeries have not been able to restore his sight. See more photos at **time.com/pellet-guns**

HISTORY On the 50th anniversary of the 1968 Democratic National Convention and its attendant antiwar protests, TIME looked back at that moment through the eyes of seven key participants—including members of the Chicago Eight, who were tried for crossing state lines to incite a riot. The protesters "learned Police Brutality 101," recalls Black Panther Party co-founder Bobby Seale, "and they all passed it with A's." Read their full reflections at **time.com/68-dnc**

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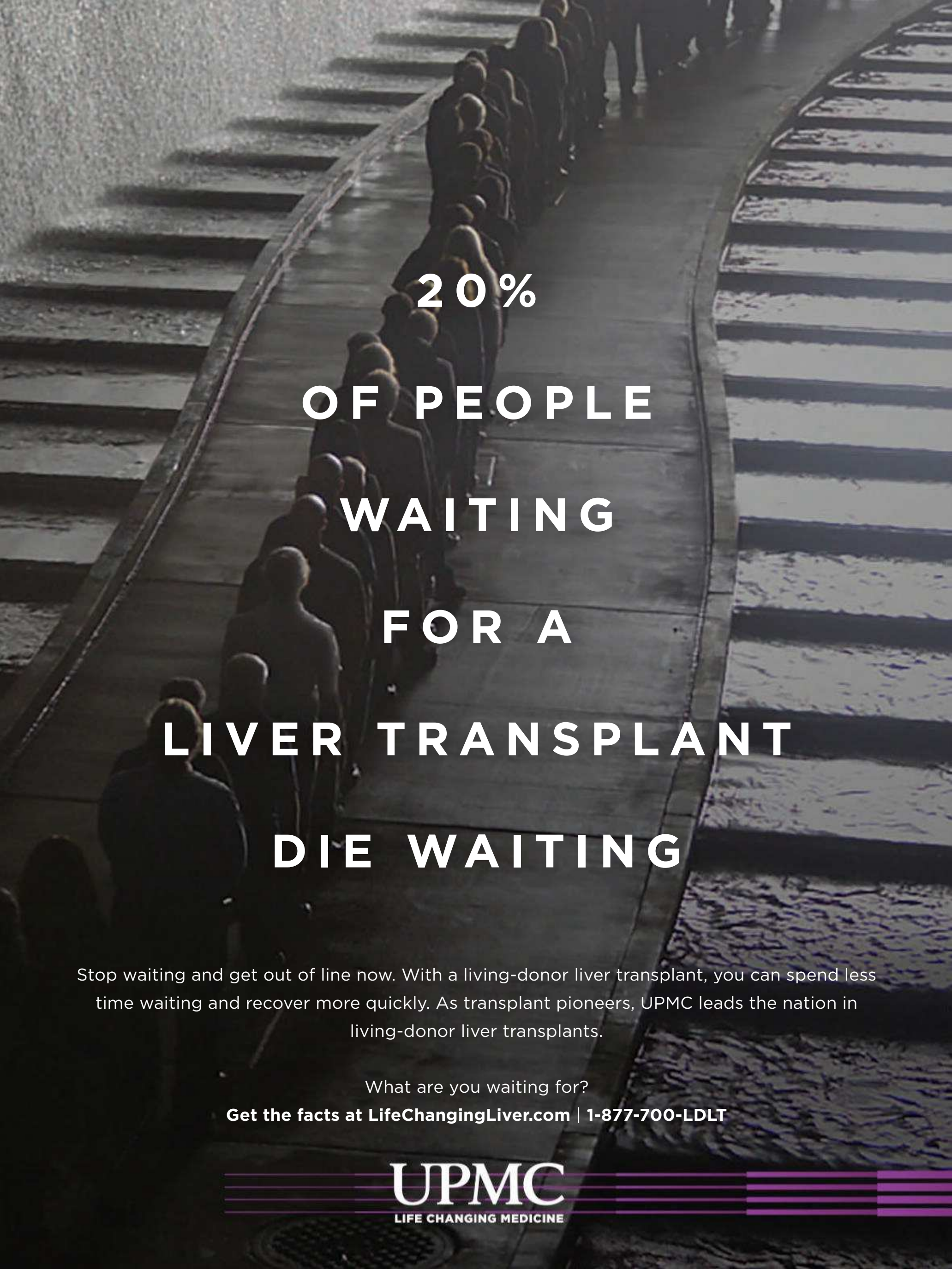
KASHMIR: CAMILLO PASQUARELLI; HISTORY: JULIAN WASSER—THE LIFE IMAGES COLLECTION/GETTY IMAGES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For the Record

‘Do not appropriate Mollie’s soul in advancing views she believed were profoundly racist.’

ROB TIBBETTS, father of Mollie Tibbetts, in a Des Moines *Register* op-ed, after Donald Trump Jr. blamed “the left’s love for open borders” for the 20-year-old’s murder, allegedly by a farmworker from Mexico

‘There is rape because there are rapists, not because there are pretty girls.’

LENI ROBREDO, Vice President of the Philippines, denouncing President Rodrigo Duterte’s remark that rape will exist “as long as there are many beautiful women”

‘THIS IS THE WORST JOB I’VE EVER HAD.’

JOHN KELLY, White House chief of staff, according to Pulitzer Prize winner Bob Woodward’s forthcoming account of the Trump presidency; the White House said the book was “nothing more than fabricated stories”

‘I left because it is more important than ever for women to stand up for themselves and not allow others to control their narrative.’

MONICA LEWINSKY, activist, tweeting about why she walked off the stage at an event in Jerusalem after being asked if she was waiting for an apology from former President Bill Clinton

‘It is time for this war in Afghanistan to end.’

GENERAL JOHN W. NICHOLSON, outgoing commander of U.S. and NATO forces in Afghanistan, at the ceremony marking the Sept. 2 change in command there

7,000

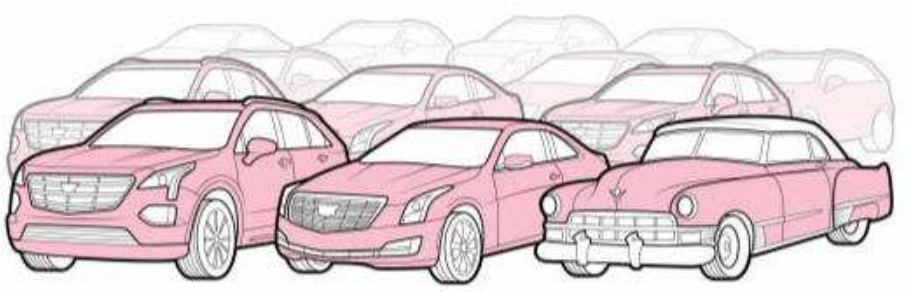
Number of **lizards and insects,** worth about $40,000, stolen from the Philadelphia Insectarium and Butterfly Pavilion in late August; authorities suspect the theft of up to 80% to 90% of the museum’s collection was an inside job

Jeff Garlin
Curb Your Enthusiasm **actor files for divorce from wife after 24 years**

Judy Garland
After 13 years, FBI recovers stolen ruby slippers worn by the *Wizard of Oz* star

130

Number of pink Cadillacs that escorted Queen of Soul Aretha Franklin’s casket to her Aug. 31 funeral in Detroit



ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

SOURCES: PEOPLE; THE PHILIPPINE STAR; NEW YORK TIMES; WASHINGTON POST

The Brief

HOT SEAT Judge Brett Kavanaugh faces the Senate Judiciary Committee on Sept. 4

INSIDE

YEARS AFTER THE FALL OF GADDAFI, CHAOS CONTINUES TO ERUPT IN LIBYA

ABUSE CRISIS EXPOSES TENSIONS WITHIN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

REMEMBERING THE HUMANITY BEHIND NEIL SIMON'S HUMOR

PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRISTOPHER MORRIS FOR TIME

POLITICS

Democrats struggle to stop Brett Kavanaugh

By Tessa Berenson

PROVIDING ADVICE AND CONSENT ON SUpreme Court nominations is one of the Senate's solemn duties. But the start of Judge Brett Kavanaugh's confirmation hearings on Sept. 4 was more spectacle than substance. At the outset, all 10 Democrats on the Judiciary Committee carried out a coordinated plan to stall the proceedings, interrupting repeatedly and demanding a postponement. A chorus of protesters stood up and yelled from the back of the room; 70 were arrested on the first day alone.

The outbursts on both sides of the dais flowed from the party's helplessness. Senate Democrats may believe Kavanaugh is unfit for the court, but they appear to be powerless to stop him. Republicans can push through President Donald Trump's nominee with a simple majority, as long as their caucus holds together. And there are no signs that the campaign against Kavanaugh has persuaded any GOP Senators to vote against him. "There's no procedural silver bullet to any of this," says a Senate Democratic aide. "The only way to defeat Brett Kavanaugh is to flip votes."

It's not that the judge's opponents haven't tried. Democrats spent the summer fighting to derail Kavanaugh's nomination. Outside groups ran television ads. Activists held protests. And Senate Democrats assailed Kavanaugh's record on issues like abortion, health care and executive power. Kavanaugh, who worked as a lawyer in George W. Bush's White House and as a member of Kenneth Starr's independent-counsel investigation of President Bill Clinton, was painted as a partisan who would cement the court's conservative majority for a generation or more. "I don't have any doubt where he comes down on these issues," Illinois Senator Dick Durbin, a member of the Judiciary Committee and the No. 2 Democrat in the Senate, tells TIME. "With all due respect, Judge Kavanaugh speaks fluent Republican."

BUT THE ISSUES weren't what took center stage in the first days of Kavanaugh's grilling. Instead, Democrats fought to gain access to more documents from his work for Bush. After a stint in the White House counsel's office, Kavanaugh spent three years as staff secretary, a key position that oversees the flow of all documents to the President. The vast trove of papers from that role won't be released before Kavanaugh's confirmation vote. "Any claim that this has been a thorough or transparent process is downright Orwellian," said Senator Patrick Leahy, a Vermont Democrat.

For their part, Republicans say the volume of documents produced so far is the highest in the history of Supreme Court nominations. And they argue that many of those that remain outstanding contain sensitive information and were not even authored by Kavanaugh.

The spat over the documents rendered the judge's own opening statement an afterthought. "A good judge must be an umpire—a neutral and impartial arbiter who favors no litigant or policy," Kavanaugh said, borrowing a metaphor from Chief Justice John Roberts' 2005 hearing. "I don't decide cases based on personal or policy preferences. I am not a pro-plaintiff or pro-defendant judge. I am not a pro-prosecution or pro-defense judge. I am a pro-law judge." His remarks seemed a deliberate counter to the squabbles preceding them. "The Supreme Court," Kavanaugh said, "must never, never be viewed as a partisan institution."

But the process of picking Justices has been moving in that direction. For much of the 20th century, qualified nominees received broad support from both parties, regardless of the party of the nominating President. Justice Anthony Kennedy, the man Kavanaugh would replace, was confirmed by a 97-0 vote in 1988. Indeed, some measure of bipartisan consensus was required to clear a 60-vote threshold for confirmation.

In the ensuing decades, judicial nominations have become highly politicized, a development for which both parties bear some of the blame. Former Democratic Senate leader Harry Reid began to erode the rules surrounding judicial nominations in 2013, when he eliminated the filibuster on all presidential nominees except those to the Supreme Court. In March 2016, Republicans took things to a new level when they refused to hold confirmation hearings for Judge Merrick Garland, President Obama's nominee to fill Justice Antonin Scalia's Supreme Court seat, because it was Obama's last year in office.

Then Trump won the presidency and nominated conservative Judge Neil Gorsuch to fill the seat instead. With Democrats still furious over Garland, Republicans changed Senate rules so they could confirm Gorsuch with a simple majority, further reducing the incentive to find common ground. "Majorities in the Senate matter more than they ever did before with regard to the issue of judicial selection and confirmation," says Leonard Leo of the conservative Federalist Society, who advises Trump on judicial selections.

Kavanaugh tried to distance himself from the drama. Of federal judges, who serve for life, he said, "We are independent and immune from political or public pressure." But you wouldn't know it from his hearing. ◻

'Any claim that this has been a thorough or transparent process is downright Orwellian.'

SENATOR PATRICK LEAHY, Democrat of Vermont

PREVIOUS PAGE: VII FOR TIME; THESE PAGES: LEAHY: GETTY IMAGES; LIBYA: MAHMUD TURKIA—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Migrants wait in a shelter on Sept. 5 after being removed from Tripoli's airport road because of fighting

THE BULLETIN

Violence flares in a fractured Libya, where chaos still reigns

FAMILIES ARE "LIVING IN FEAR" AFTER A week of fighting and indiscriminate shelling in Tripoli, the U.N.'s humanitarian coordinator in Libya said Sept. 2. At least 61 died, 159 were wounded, and some 400 inmates escaped a prison as rival militias battled for territory in Libya's capital city. The violence was a reminder that the chaos unleashed by the removal of dictator Muammar Gaddafi in 2011 is far from contained.

COMBUSTIBLE MIX Since 2014, Libya has been divided in two. A U.N.-backed unity government has kept a fragile hold over Tripoli and much of the west of the country, while a rival government claims the east, including the city of Benghazi. But hundreds of armed groups that rose up against the government during the Arab Spring continue to clash regularly over territory. The fighting in late August and early September was between at least two of these competing militias. Adding to the turmoil, militants from the Islamic State continue to carry out attacks even after losing their stronghold in the northern city of Sirte in 2016.

DRIVING MIGRATION Under Gaddafi's regime, oil-rich Libya enjoyed one of the highest standards of living in Africa. But seven years of fighting and instability have destroyed the economy, crippled infrastructure and pushed hundreds of thousands of people out of their homes. The chaos has turned Libya into a way station for displaced people from across the continent. The U.N.'s refugee agency says 8,000 migrants trying to cross the Mediterranean are kept in "critical" conditions in crumbling detention centers.

FRAGILE DEAL European leaders want stability restored in Libya to prevent flows of migrants from reaching their shores. In May, France's President Emmanuel Macron helped broker a deal among several large factions to hold "credible, peaceful" elections in December. But many say the timeline is too ambitious; there is still no constitution to govern the electoral process, and some militias oppose it. As the international community seeks a solution, the bloodshed of early September is unlikely to be the last episode of violence. —CIARA NUGENT

NEWS TICKER

Russian planes bomb Syrian rebel holdout

Russia began bombing Syria's last rebel-held province, Idlib, on Sept. 4, amid preparations by its Syrian army allies to take back the enclave. President Trump warned the day before that **a full-scale attack could result in a humanitarian crisis** for the 2.9 million people living there; the Kremlin said Idlib was a "cradle of terrorism."

Top gymnastics exec resigns

USA Gymnastics president and CEO Kerry Perry is out after only nine months, as the organization continues to struggle since **hundreds of women accused sports doctor Larry Nassar of sexual abuse.** The organization has been accused of protecting him and of doing little to change since he was sentenced in January to up to 175 years in prison.

Japan hit hard by mega-typhoon

Typhoon Jebi, the strongest storm to hit Japan in 25 years, made landfall on Sept. 4. **At least 11 people were killed, and hundreds more were injured;** the last time a storm of Jebi's strength hit the country, 48 people were left dead or missing.

NEWS TICKER

Upset in Mass. Democratic primary

Adding to the season's list of political surprises, Ayanna Pressley **beat 10-term incumbent** Michael Capuano in a Sept. 5 Democratic primary for Massachusetts' 7th congressional district. With no Republican on the ballot, she'll likely be the first black woman elected to Congress from her state.

Russians named in U.K. spy poisoning

British Prime Minister Theresa May said on Sept. 5 that **two Russian intelligence officers were behind the attempted murder of ex-spy Sergei Skripal** with the banned nerve agent Novichok in the U.K. in March. May said their mission was almost certainly approved "at a senior level" of the Russian state.

White House lawyer to leave his post

The latest Trump Administration departure is Don McGahn. The President said in an Aug. 29 tweet that **the White House counsel, who has cooperated with Robert Mueller's investigation into the 2016 election, will leave the job this fall,** after Supreme Court confirmation hearings for Brett Kavanaugh.

GOOD QUESTION

Why is an Archbishop calling for Pope Francis to resign?

A SCATHING LETTER ATTACKING POPE Francis over claims that he covered up allegations of sexual abuse by a high-profile American Cardinal has brought into focus a crisis in the Catholic Church. The 11-page text by noted conservative Archbishop Carlo Maria Viganò accuses Francis of covering up sexual-abuse allegations against ex-Cardinal Theodore McCarrick, and calls for Francis to resign over the matter.

The letter—dated Aug. 22, mere weeks after a damning report from a Pennsylvania grand jury found that at least 300 priests abused more than 1,000 victims—has sown division among leaders of the Catholic Church in the U.S. Francis, who faced a chilly welcome on his late-August trip to Ireland in light of decades of abuse scandals there, now must reckon with high-ranking church figures coming out openly against him. It's a rare scene of public discord among Catholic leaders and a window into fissures within the church.

McCarrick, the powerful head of the Archdiocese of Washington, stepped down after an investigation concluded that claims he sexually abused a teenage altar boy were credible. Francis accepted McCarrick's resignation in July and ordered him to a "life of prayer and penance." But Viganò says he informed Francis of McCarrick's behavior back in 2013. The Pope, he alleges, "continued to cover for" McCarrick—which he says means the Pope should step down.

But the letter also includes a screed against homosexuality and can be read as a personal attack on Francis. Specifically, it connects sex abuse in the church to the Pontiff's more accepting position toward gay Catholics. That stand offends conservatives like Viganò, whom Francis removed in 2016 as the Vatican's ambassador to the U.S.

"The document is a start for those who want to raise questions," says Massimo Faggioli, a theology and religious-studies professor at Villanova University, "but it contains no answers."

This isn't the first time Viganò, 77, has taken issue with Francis' leadership. In 2015, he caused a dustup by arranging for Kim Davis, the Kentucky clerk who refused to issue marriage licenses for gay couples, to meet the Pope. Viganò has also been accused of his own cover-up; he denies allegations that he tried to stop an investigation of a former Archbishop of St. Paul–Minneapolis who was accused of sexual misconduct.

Conservative U.S. bishops have voiced their support for Viganò since the letter was published; the Pope's defenders dispute its details.

As for Francis, he has declined to address the letter. Aboard his papal plane on Aug. 26, he said that he'd read it and that it "speaks for itself." Reporters, he said, could judge the claims in the letter for themselves. "It's an act of trust," he said. "I won't say a word about it."

—MAHITA GAJANAN AND GINA MARTINEZ

WILDLIFE

Stray animals

A mysterious kangaroo has baffled officials in Austria (yes, the European country) following sightings in early September. Here, other creatures that roamed far from home. —*Billy Perrigo*

SIGHTSEEING SUNFISH
In August, fishermen in Scotland reported two sightings of sunfish. The gigantic bony fish, the heaviest in the world, normally live in tropical waters but can drift far on ocean currents.

BARNSTORMING BOOBY
Bird watchers had their feathers ruffled in August when a brown booby landed on Onota Lake in Massachusetts, some 1,500 miles from its native Gulf of Mexico and Caribbean.

WAYFARING WHALE
In 2006, an 18-ft. bottlenose whale swam up the River Thames in London after apparently venturing far from its home in the North Atlantic. Despite a rescue attempt, it died on the way back to deeper water.

Milestones

DIED
Jalaluddin Haqqani, founder of one of Afghanistan's most powerful militant networks, after an illness, the Afghan Taliban said Sept. 4.

NAMED
David Katz, 24, as the suspect in the shooting that killed two and wounded 10 at a Jacksonville, Fla., video-game tournament on Aug. 26. The gunman also killed himself.

ANNOUNCED
The decision not to run for a third term, by Chicago Mayor **Rahm Emanuel,** in a surprise speech on Sept. 4.

CEDED
Some 1 million sq. ft. in Hong Kong's West Kowloon rail station to mainland Chinese authorities, during a secretive ceremony, so that China can conduct immigration checks.

REACHED
The highest fatality rate ever for migrants crossing the Mediterranean to Europe—even though fewer are crossing than at the crisis' peak in 2015, per U.N. data.

RESCINDED
An invitation for Donald Trump's former chief strategist **Stephen Bannon** to headline the New Yorker Festival, after other speakers threatened to drop out.

PERFORMED
The first gig by comedian **Louis C.K.** since multiple women accused him of sexual misconduct last year, at a New York City club on Aug. 26.

BIRD: GETTY IMAGES; SIMON: DAVID SMITH—AP/SHUTTERSTOCK; MYANMAR: ANN WANG—REUTERS

Simon in Los Angeles during the filming of the 1978 movie The Cheap Detective, *for which he wrote the screenplay*

DIED

Neil Simon
Wit of the Great White Way

By J.K. Simmons

IT REMAINS ONE OF THE TOP MEMORIES OF MY CAREER THAT at my audition for *Laughter on the 23rd Floor,* I elicited belly laughs from Neil Simon himself. And when I got the phone call from my agent that I was going to be in the original Broadway cast of a Neil Simon play—that's still right up there too, 25 years on.

Before then, I'd known "Doc," who died on Aug. 26 at 91, only as a fan, so the idea that he would be around during rehearsals was intimidating. But I found him to be an almost paternal presence. And there's a reason his memoir is called *Rewrites:* he was an absolute genius at using what he saw at rehearsals; it felt as if he were writing for us. And many of the real people who inspired the characters in *Laughter,* based on his time as a TV writer in the 1950s, came to see us. It was pretty cool having Mel Brooks or Carl Reiner come backstage and say how hilarious and moving it was! They had such a genuine affection for that time and for Doc himself.

He was the ideal combination of intelligent and accessible—and hilarious, obviously. He wrote characters who, even though they're sometimes very broad, are always, to me, believable. His work makes you laugh, but beneath the humor is humanity.

Simmons is an actor who will be seen this fall in *The Front Runner*

SENTENCED

Reuters journalists in Myanmar

IN TODAY'S MYANMAR, THE price for uncovering a massacre is apparently seven years. That was the sentence handed down to two Reuters reporters on Sept. 3, for their work covering the deaths of 10 Rohingya Muslims overseen by state security forces.

The sentencing of Wa Lone and Kyaw Soe Oo for breaching the country's official-secrets act came as little surprise to observers. Both men said they had been framed; away from the courtroom, the military even admitted the massacre in question had taken place. But establishing the truth wasn't really the point. The verdict will have a chilling effect on reporters in Myanmar attempting to hold the state to account for its brutal campaign against the stateless Muslim minority. That it might also pile pressure on Nobel laureate Aung San Suu Kyi to acknowledge her state's complicity may be scant relief to the jailed reporters.

Outside the courtroom, the reporters addressed the media. "I have no fear," Wa Lone said. "I have not done anything wrong." Then, hands cuffed together, he was bundled away.

—BILLY PERRIGO

Historian **Doris Kearns Goodwin** looks to past leaders for lessons on the present

By Lily Rothman

DORIS KEARNS GOODWIN LIVES SURROUNDED BY American history. Her home in Concord, Mass., is minutes from the site of one of the first battles of the American Revolution. The house itself, cool on a day that broke heat records in nearby Boston, is full of history too. What was once a three-car garage is now a library. Abraham Lincoln books are in there, and Franklin Roosevelt is nearby. The section on Theodore Roosevelt is upstairs. A small room with exercise bikes is devoted to memoir. Fiction has its place too. And at the end of one hallway, there's a section that might surprise visitors to the home of one of the nation's most famous historians: business and psychology books on leadership.

That section is new. These—and the papers in dozens of colorful three-ring binders in a nearby room—were research materials for Goodwin's new book, *Leadership: In Turbulent Times,* out Sept. 18. Leadership guru is a role Goodwin, 75, has filled informally for years, as a frequent speaker on lessons gleaned from the Presidents who have been the subjects of her award-winning biographies. In her new book, Goodwin has taken "her guys"—Lincoln, both Roosevelts and Lyndon B. Johnson—and crafted elements of their parallel stories into a comparatively slim volume (read: nearly 500 pages counting the bibliography) for history buffs and C-suiters alike.

Goodwin says the writing experience reminded her of graduate school, when she and her friends would talk about how their studies might offer a path forward in their own lives. It felt like "coming full circle," she says—and allowed her to feel like she was paying something of a debt to the leaders she has chronicled over the years.

"Each time I finished a project, I had to move that guy's books to another room, and I always felt I was vaguely betraying him," Goodwin says. "This time I could keep them all where they were."

In *Leadership,* each President gets his start, faces obstacles personal and national, and achieves success. Some moments stand out: Teddy Roosevelt's handling of a strike or FDR's road map for the first 100 days, which became a staple for future Presidents' first terms. From Lincoln comes the idea of writing "hot" letters, never to be sent, to get out one's anger. It's hard to imagine Goodwin angry—she won't let TIME take an unsmiling photo of her—but she says anyone can use that tip. And a coda to LBJ's story, about his lack of leadership on Vietnam, neatly highlights the stakes of her lessons.

Goodwin has a close-up perspective on Johnson, having helped with his memoirs following a fellowship in his White House, but that's not the only reason *Leadership* is personal in ways a presidential biography can't be. The subject demands to be related to one's own life, and Goodwin isn't immune. Lincoln's praise for his team was a reminder to thank her own helpers even more. Each of the four Presidents she profiles had to return from at least one big setback. Similarly, she faced plagiarism accusations in the early 2000s, which she has attributed to mistakes caused by a faulty note-taking system. Goodwin retreated briefly from public life before returning with *Team of Rivals,* the best-selling Lincoln biography that inspired both Steven Spielberg (it's a basis for *Lincoln*) and then Senator Barack Obama, who called her to discuss it. There was also an overlay of personal sadness; Goodwin was writing an epilogue about the Presidents' deaths just as her husband, JFK and Johnson adviser Richard N. Goodwin, faced the final stages of cancer. He died in May, and she says it was helpful to reflect at that time on what it meant to leave a legacy.

"Knowing that he felt that he had an extraordinary life and that the world understood that too," she says, "was just such a comforting factor."

OVER LUNCH AT A CONCORD INN that's older than the United States, Goodwin returns to a favorite story about FDR: in 1940, he set a target for U.S. warplane production that seemed impossible to hit—and yet that goal would "ignite the imagination" of the aviation industry. The moral is that leadership involves presenting others with a vision of what they might achieve.

The new book also means to offer an instructive new perspective. Its most urgent lesson isn't found in any specific example of how a great man faced down a great problem. Rather, she says, it's in seeing just how massive their problems were.

"This has become more apparent over the past couple of years: we're going to ignore history at our own peril," she says. "I'd like to think it would give people reassurance to know that if you think we're in the worst of times right now, it isn't the worst."

Yes, these times qualify as turbulent, she says, although she didn't know how much when she started the book about five years ago. Beyond any specific failures of leadership in its capital, she sees the U.S. as overwhelmed by polarization. The four examples she uses may help citizens recognize good leadership when they see it. But even more, she hopes citizens will remember that greater

GOODWIN QUICK FACTS

Presidential roommates
Goodwin once spent a night at the White House armed with a map showing where FDR's friends had slept. (She stayed where Winston Churchill did.)

Long reads
When she met J.K. Rowling, they bonded over editors who said their books needed to be shorter.

At bat
Goodwin, the first female journalist to enter the Boston Red Sox locker room, refuses to jinx her favorite team with a World Series forecast, despite its strong season.

Goodwin at the Concord Bookshop in Concord, Mass. For pleasure reading, she opts for mysteries

obstacles have been overcome before.

"It's like being in war so long, you don't know what peace is like," Goodwin says. "We've been at each other's throats so long in Washington. To know and remember what bipartisanship is like, that's what I want people to see. We had it."

That possibility of a better world isn't limited to politics. All of her subjects earn her praise for taking time to retreat, reflect and pause amid crisis. If you think work emails arriving in your inbox during vacation makes that impossible, think again.

"If Lincoln during the Civil War can go to the theater a hundred times, and if FDR during World War II can have a cocktail hour every night where you can only talk about books you've read and gossip, and if Teddy Roosevelt can take two hours every afternoon to exercise," she says, none of us has an excuse. "We just keep thinking our time is more complicated. It is because we've made it so."

Goodwin is pretty good at pausing too. When she watches her beloved Boston Red Sox, she says, she thinks about only baseball, and she has made a ritual of eating out with friends multiple times a week (the historic tavern where we had lunch is their Thursday spot). She's big into mysteries. And she makes time for family and neighbors. One of her sons lives in Concord with his family, and their town is the kind where people stop to say hello—including five separate times during our postlunch visit to the Concord Bookshop.

'It's like being in war so long, you don't know what peace is like.'

DORIS KEARNS GOODWIN, on the state of U.S. politics

She's also taking a slower-paced approach to the question of what comes next. She wants to finish the book her husband was writing when he died, which she describes as a "love letter to the idea of America." Several film projects based on her work are in progress—Spielberg has moved on to her Teddy Roosevelt/William Howard Taft book, and a miniseries drawn from her FDR work may happen, too—and she has started a production company with her manager. She's not sure she wants to spend another decade on a biography. If the right person came along, maybe. But that would mean moving her books again, and that doesn't feel right, not yet.

"It's still just too close to this one," she says. "I'd feel like I was betraying these guys before they'd even come back to life." ◻

TONY LUONG FOR TIME

LightBox

Lost legacy

A drone view captures what remains of Brazil's National Museum in Rio de Janeiro on Sept. 3, the day after a devastating fire tore through the building. The fire's origin is still being investigated, but many in Brazil see its true cause as neglect of a 200-year-old institution that lacked even a sprinkler system. Although officials have promised to reconstruct the building, most of its 20 million artifacts and artworks are lost forever. One scientist, frustrated by futile efforts to safeguard the collection, declared the blaze "a tragedy foretold."

Photograph by Mauro Pimentel—AFP/Getty Images

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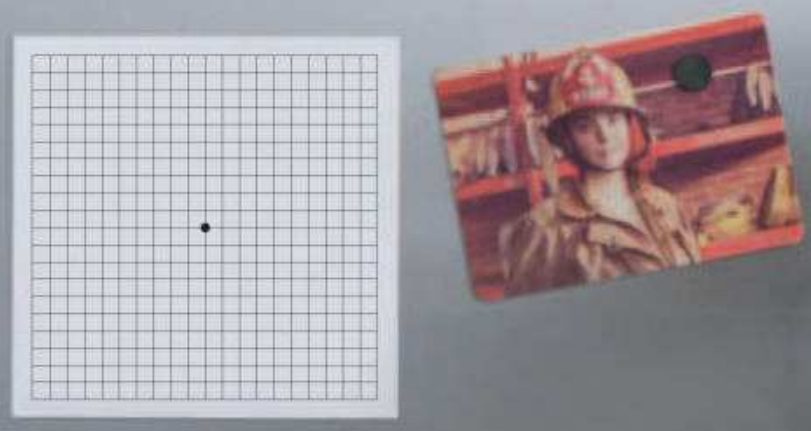
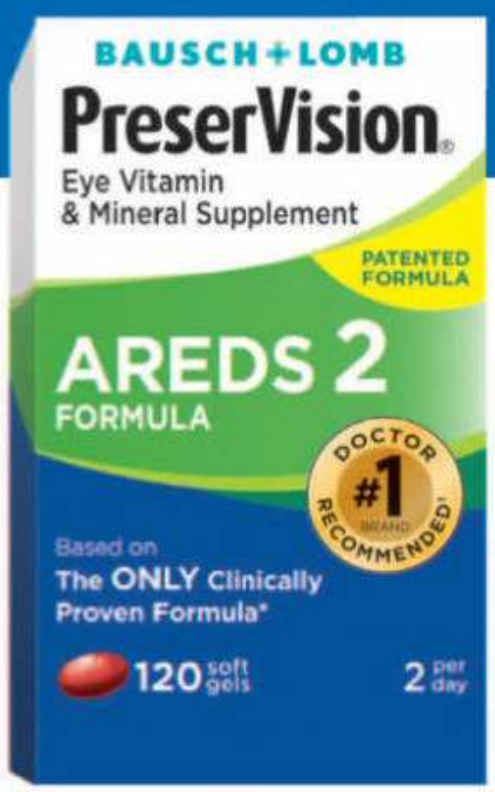
“It’s my vision. That’s why I fight.”





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TheView

SOCIETY

THE SURPRISING JOY OF OLD AGE

By Jeffrey Kluger

If life wanted to mess with you, it couldn't have come up with a better way than death. Especially the lead-up. Your strength flags; your world narrows; much of what once gave you pleasure and satisfaction is now gone. But as it turns out, happiness is still very much with you—often even more so than before.

INSIDE

NIKE EMBRACES AN NFL PARIAH

THE GROWING RISKS IN DEVELOPING ECONOMIES

WHY THE POLITICS AROUND BIG TECH ARE CHANGING

In some ways, our youth and middle years are really a sort of training period for the unanticipated pleasure of being an older adult, psychologist Alan D. Castel of the University of California, Los Angeles, argues in his new book, *Better With Age: The Psychology of Successful Aging.* In one 2006 study Castel cites, a group of 30-year-olds and 70-year-olds were asked which of the two age cohorts was likely to be happier. Both of them chose the 30-year-olds. But when those groups were asked about their own subjective happiness, the 70-year-olds came out on top.

Psychologists, anthropologists and other investigators have long been intrigued by similar findings—that old age is often a time defined not by sorrow, dread and regret but rather by peace, gratitude and fulfillment. Investigators looking into the happy senescence phenomenon attribute it to a lot of things: seniors become masters of "terror management theory" or "constructive distraction" or "voluntary affirmation of the obligatory." In other words, they figure: *I'm gonna die? What else is new? Meantime, I've got my grandkids here.*

In old age, fears of getting one's heart broken begin to fade

JUST AS SURPRISING as the happy oldster is the miserable middle-ager, Jonathan Rauch reports in his book *The Happiness Curve,* published in May. Life satisfaction appears to follow a U-shaped course, with its twin peaks in childhood, when the world is one great theme park, and in old age, when we've been on all the rides a thousand times and are perfectly content just to watch. It's in the middle—our 40s and 50s, when our power, potential and productivity are the greatest and we should be feeling our happiest—that life satisfaction bottoms out.

The U is true across nations, cultures and income levels, research shows. It makes a lot of sense. For one thing, all that power and productivity require a lot of work to maintain, and it comes at the very moment when other pressures are the greatest—raising kids, paying the mortgage and those kids' tuition bills. Your evaluative happiness (how your life would appear if measured in terms of wealth, achievements and a stable family) can be very different from your affective happiness (how you actually feel). A life that looks happy is not necessarily experienced as happy.

In the later decades, this changes in a lot of ways. For one thing, that business of realizing that you may never achieve a long-desired goal can actually be a positive experience. After banging your head against the wall for 40 years to make partner or become department chair, the day you accept you're free to quit trying comes as a relief.

There is, similarly, what Rauch describes as an older person's ability to normalize crises. Life can be a series of experiential typhoons, both good and bad—falling in love, falling out of love, marriage, divorce, new job, lost job—and every one of them feels overwhelming at first. But there are only so many Category 5s that can be thrown at you before you realize that the clouds will eventually part and you'll probably be left wet but standing.

Then, too, there is the business of wisdom. Evolutionarily, any species that hopes to stay alive has to manage its resources carefully. That means that first call on food and other goodies goes to the breeders and warriors and hunters and planters and builders and, certainly, the children, with not much left over for the seniors, who may be seen as consuming more than they're contributing. But even before modern medicine extended life expectancies, ordinary families were including grandparents and even great-grandparents. That's because what old folk consume materially, they give back behaviorally—providing a leveling, reasoning center to the tumult that often swirls around them.

In another study cited in *Better With Age,* a group of successful CEOs of *Fortune* 500 companies—all 50 to 70 years old—scored lower on lab-based tests of reasoning and processing speed than younger people, yet all the CEOs nonetheless were running huge, stable and exceedingly profitable companies. Clearly, something more than the ability to crunch a lot of data was contributing to their success.

Earlier in life, wisdom can seem out of reach. But for those who have attained it, Castel writes, "often wisdom allows people to see the obvious, or to use common sense without second-guessing themselves or the outcomes."

Yes, death is nonnegotiable—something that can only be delayed, never avoided. It's a mercy, then, that when we do reach the end, so many of us arrive there smarter, calmer and even smiling. ☐

CHRISTOPHER ANDERSON—MAGNUM PHOTOS

SHORT READS

Highlights from stories on **time.com/ideas**

The first win of the NFL season

"Colin Kaepernick is a pariah. Colin Kaepernick is a patriot," writes TIME's Sean Gregory of the ex-quarterback whose protest movement has led to a lawsuit with the NFL—and now a major role in a Nike ad campaign. Gregory says that despite not throwing a pass in nearly two years, **Kaepernick keeps on winning.**

Where kids learn racism

Sociologist Margaret A. Hagerman studied 30 white families for her new book, *White Kids*. She saw that **children learned about race not just from talking with their parents** and from the diversity of their schools but also from small things such as when their parents lock the door, who gets invited to cookouts and when guardians roll their eyes.

The right to an education

University of Chicago law professor and author of the new book *The Schoolhouse Gate* Justin Driver says a firmly conservative Supreme Court **may threaten a case that ensures undocumented children can go to school.**

THE RISK REPORT

Emerging markets are in meltdown, but for once Trump isn't to blame

By Ian Bremmer

A CRISIS IS LOOMING in developing economies, or what investors know as emerging markets. An economic crisis in Turkey has pushed inflation to new heights and the value of the lira to new lows. Argentina's peso is in trouble as President Mauricio Macri reaches to the International Monetary Fund for emergency help. South Africa's rand, Mexico's peso and Indonesia's rupiah are all under pressure. India and Brazil are looking volatile too.

The risk of contagion to other emerging markets is real. In part, that's thanks to investment vehicles that allow investors to buy debt and equities of multiple countries in a single bundle. In some cases, investors—spooked by weakness in one market—sell shares in all of them to reduce risk.

It might be tempting to blame President Donald Trump for this turmoil. He's declared trade wars on countries large and small. Looming tariffs on another $200 billion in U.S. and Chinese goods mark the latest use of heavy weapons in an escalating fight between the world's two largest economies. He's also battling with Europe, Canada and even Japan, while also throwing punches at vulnerable Turkey as part of a bitter political battle with President Recep Tayyip Erdogan. These confrontations doubtless create uncertainty.

Yet the current crisis follows decisions taken by U.S. central bankers, not the U.S. President. Emerging markets suffer when rising U.S. interest rates boost the dollar at the expense of their currencies. The Federal Reserve will continue to raise rates in coming months, because its governors believe this policy best serves the longer-term needs of the U.S. economy.

In addition, the longer-term weaknesses that make so many emerging markets vulnerable to higher U.S. rates existed long before Trump became President. Many governments of these developing countries haven't done enough in recent years to boost productivity. Some spend ever larger sums on various entitlements while adjusting too slowly to changes in commodity prices or the availability of cheap credit.

Crucially, there's also the problem of populism. Leaders in Turkey, Argentina, Venezuela, Hungary, Poland and South Africa have each pushed economic policies in recent years that delivered short-term political benefits while creating long-term economic weaknesses. Many constrain their institutions, including central banks, from making the necessary adjustments the Fed is now making in the U.S.

Vulnerable emerging markets are like houses built atop faulty foundations. It's the threat of earthquakes that creates fear

Take Turkey. Erdogan's various fights with Trump have led to tariffs and sanctions, but his government has badly mismanaged Turkey's economy. As Erdogan has pressed Turkey's central bank to keep interest rates low, he has made the lira artificially cheap while making dollars and euros more expensive. That, in turn, makes it harder for Turkish companies to pay down large debts denominated in foreign currencies and to borrow more money from overseas. Investors see Erdogan prioritizing political gains over stability.

Argentina offers another example. Here there's no political battle with Trump to worry investors. But Macri has not yet restored investor confidence in his country's long-term financial health. Macri has imposed enough austerity to inflict pain on Argentine voters, but some fear it isn't enough to guarantee that his government can make its debt payments.

Vulnerable emerging markets are like houses built atop faulty foundations. It's the threat of earthquakes that creates fear. But until repairs are made, those who built these homes must shoulder blame when frightening cracks appear. ◻

Washington takes on the threat of Big Tech

By Haley Sweetland Edwards

Facebook's Sheryl Sandberg and Twitter's Jack Dorsey testify before the U.S. Senate in Washington on Sept. 5

JIM WATSON—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

ONCE THE FRESH-FACED DARLINGS OF D.C., BIG TECH executives now receive a decidedly cooler reception on Capitol Hill. On Sept. 5, Twitter chief Jack Dorsey and Facebook second-in-command Sheryl Sandberg got a tongue lashing in Senate hearings. "You're going to have to do something," warned Republican Senator James Risch of Idaho, or risk facing a crackdown from lawmakers and regulators. Google, whose co-founder Larry Page refused to show up at the hearings at all, drew even more vitriol. "Maybe it's because they are arrogant," said Florida GOP Senator Marco Rubio.

It's not just talk. The biggest question at the confluence of business, technology and politics right now is whether America's tech titans have grown too big and should be subject to tough new rules or aggressive antitrust actions, including the federal government's breaking up the behemoths as it did AT&T in 1982. The answer may depend on whether the rising political ire is enough to overcome decades of antiregulatory doctrine that narrowly—and perhaps naively—defines the harm corporate giants might unleash.

The political momentum appears to be growing. On the right, Utah Senator Orrin Hatch sent a letter on Aug. 30 requesting that the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) reopen an investigation into Google's online search and digital advertising practices. Trump's economic adviser Larry Kudlow said he was "taking a look at" regulating Google search results. And on Aug. 31, Fox News host Laura Ingraham suggested that federal regulators could treat Facebook and Twitter like public utilities. On the left, Senator Elizabeth Warren has called repeatedly for using antitrust enforcement to inject competition into the tech space. "I'm now officially bipartisan," tweeted Matt Stoller, a former top adviser to Bernie Sanders, referencing Hatch's letter to the FTC. Beginning in mid-September, the FTC will host a series of hearings on the big technology firms' market clout.

950 million
Average number of hours per day that users spent on Facebook's services at the end of 2017, according to the company

6K
Average number of tweets posted per second worldwide, according to Internet Live Stats

THAT THE TECH TITANS ARE CRUSHING the competition simply by their size is hardly in dispute. When Amazon announced plans last summer to purchase Whole Foods, rival grocery chains lost a combined market value of nearly $22 billion in a day. When Facebook announced in May that it was launching a dating service, the company that owns Match.com lost 22% of its value almost immediately. In July, the European Union fined Google $5 billion for breaking antitrust laws—the second time the company had been punished in a little over a year.

But winning an antitrust case in the U.S. requires more than assembling evidence that a corporation's size distorts a market. Since the '80s, federal antitrust authorities have had to show that a company's size actively harms consumers, by raising prices, say, or reducing choice. In the digital economy, where tech firms allow consumers to access their products for free, demonstrating that kind of harm is tricky. In 2013, when the FTC last investigated whether Google manipulated its search results to favor its own properties, the commission found that it did, but that Google's practices on the whole benefited consumers. The FTC did not bring a case at that time.

But in recent years, antitrust thinking has begun to change. Since 2016, when the U.S. concluded that Russia weaponized the unwitting tech firms against the American electorate to influence the presidential campaign, the scope of the potential harm Big Tech can unleash on citizens, not just consumers, has broadened. "Before 2016, there was this sense that these companies were cool, progressive techies who did magic," said Stoller, now a fellow at Open Markets Institute. "Now it's like, 'Oh. You're Big Tobacco.'"

Which explains why the tech executives worked overtime on Sept. 5 to convince lawmakers they can address concerns without Washington's help. "We were too slow to spot this and too slow to act," Sandberg said. "This is on us." ◻

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Pelosi, pictured at the Capitol in February, has raised hundreds of millions of dollars for Democrats, yet many of them see her as a millstone for the party

PHOTOGRAPH BY GILLIAN LAUB FOR TIME

STAYING POWER

Loathed by the right, under fire from the left. Nancy Pelosi says she isn't going anywhere

BY MOLLY BALL

Nancy Pelosi stopped caring about what people think of her a long time ago, so she has no qualms about eating ice cream for

breakfast with a stranger. Dark chocolate, two scoops, waffle cone. It's a freezing January morning in Baltimore's Little Italy, where Pelosi grew up in the 1950s. "You know what's good about ice cream in this weather?" she says. "It doesn't melt down your arm while you're eating it."

We are sitting in an Italian café on Albemarle Street, alone save for the staff and Pelosi's security detail, to whom she has offered coffee. The Trump era has many Democrats in a panic, but Pelosi inhabits a more cheerful reality. She is convinced that America has hit bottom, has seen the error of its ways and is ready to put her back in charge.

The 78-year-old former House Speaker knows what her critics say about her: that she's too old, too "toxic," too polarizing; that after three decades in Congress and 15 years leading her party's caucus, she has had her turn and needs to get out of the way. But there's a reason she sticks around. Had Hillary Clinton won the 2016 election, she says, "we'd have a woman at the head of the table." When that didn't happen, Pelosi realized that without her, there might not be a woman in the room at all.

Pelosi is one of the most consequential political figures of her generation. It was her creativity, stamina and willpower that drove the defining Democratic accomplishments of the past decade, from universal access to health coverage to saving the U.S. economy from collapse, from reforming Wall Street to allowing gay people to serve openly in the military. Her Republican successors' ineptitude has thrown her skills into sharp relief. It's not a stretch to say Pelosi is one of very few legislators in Washington who actually know what they're doing.

But few people talk about her in those terms. Instead, Pelosi is regarded as a political liability. Republicans see her as their biggest asset, and hope to motivate their voters in the midterm elections by putting her image in television ads. Meanwhile, despite the hundreds of millions of dollars she has raised for her party, nearly 60 Democratic House candidates have returned the favor by calling for new leadership. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez's June 26 primary upset of one of Pelosi's lieutenants, Representative Joe Crowley of New York, highlighted the restlessness of the party's grassroots, and Pelosi's erstwhile allies in the Congressional Black Caucus have pushed Representative James Clyburn to challenge her. Even the New York *Times* editorialized that she should go.

None of this fazes Pelosi. "If I weren't effective, I wouldn't be a target," she says, working on her ice cream as leftover Christmas songs play in the background. The only part that bothers her, she says, is when women who are thinking of running for office tell her they couldn't withstand the abuse. "I say, 'Forget what they're doing to me, because you won't be that much of a target. But you will be a target, because this is about power. And if you look like you're making headway they will come after you. And it won't be a pretty sight.'"

The attacks on Pelosi are particularly ironic in this political moment. Since Donald Trump's election, American women have poured into the streets, signed up to run for office in record numbers and surged to the polls. Many of them look a lot like Pelosi once did. They are brainy, liberal and comfortably situated moms who have looked at the political system with the exasperation of a person who has seen her husband get the laundry wrong and realized that she's going to have to do it herself. If Democrats regain congressional power in November, as most experts expect, it will be by riding a tidal wave of female rage. But rather than tout their female leader—the first woman Speaker in history, and the odds-on favorite to reclaim the title—many Democratic politicians, both male and female, are running in the opposite direction. In this season of female political empowerment, Pelosi's power still rankles.

'IF I WEREN'T EFFECTIVE, I WOULDN'T BE A TARGET.'

NANCY PELOSI

It seems to enrage people that Pelosi feels entitled to things: money, power, respect. Of course it does—a woman is always held responsible for her reputation. Clinton, in her years running for President, was asked over and over again some version of the question, Why do you think people don't like you? (Despite not being on any ballot, Clinton, too, figures prominently in the Republicans' fall campaign strategy.) A powerful woman is always defined less by what she has done than by how she makes people feel.

Pelosi isn't humble. Many women, she thinks, are afraid to show pride and need to see an example of confidence. Besides, making sure you get your due isn't something you can delegate. One former Pelosi aide told me everything she does is rooted in this combination of obligation and entitlement: the sense that someone ought to do something, and she is the only one who can do it. Pelosi seems to feel no need to apologize for her status in the way women are expected to and men rarely are. Perhaps the assertion of ego by a woman is the most radical act there is: the refusal to submit or be subordinate.

GILLIAN LAUB FOR TIME

Pelosi addresses members of her caucus during a meeting in February

It is not in Pelosi's nature to cower or grovel. She will be who she is—liberal, privileged, unpopular—and let the chips fall where they may. To some Democrats, Pelosi's is an attitude of unconscionable selfishness: she's willing to damage her party to hold on to the position she believes she deserves. The story of Nancy Pelosi is, inevitably, the story of what people think of her. The way she is recognized and remembered, the way she is held to account. And so Pelosi doesn't have the luxury of not caring about what people think of her: it's the question on which her future, and the future of American politics, depends.

THE MORNING AFTER the biggest primary upset of 2018, Pelosi placed a call to Ocasio-Cortez. The 28-year-old socialist from the Bronx had predicated her campaign against the House's fourth most powerful Democrat on getting rid of the old, out-of-touch party establishment, and pundits were speculating about the implications for other longtime leaders. Sitting on a goldenrod-colored sofa in her airy office on the second floor of the Capitol, Pelosi picked up the phone and set to the job of holding her fractious party together.

She told Ocasio-Cortez that while she loved Crowley, she had always wanted to see more young, progressive women in Congress, according to a person with direct knowledge of the conversation. "There's a lot to do," Pelosi told her. "Thank you for your courage to run. This is not for the faint of heart." It was typical Pelosi—a compliment, wrapped in an invitation to join the team, with just a hint of potential consequences. And it reflected a political education that, for Pelosi, began a lifetime ago.

The youngest of seven children and the only girl, Pelosi grew up like royalty. Her father Thomas D'Alesandro Jr. was a member of Congress when she was born, in 1940, and the mayor of Baltimore by the time she was 7. When young Nancy wasn't being ferried to a Catholic girls' school, she was attending her father's ceremonial events or helping him get out the vote. Her father's ancestors had immigrated from Genoa, Venice and Abruzzo, her mother's from the southern Italian city of Campobasso. The family lived in a three-story brick row house in the heart of Little Italy, a blue collar community near Baltimore's industrial waterfront. The house appears vacant now; Pelosi points it out to me as we drive by. (We had planned to take a walking tour, but it's a cold day, and she detests the cold.) A few blocks over, there are hipster restaurants and lofts, but in this part of town, the corners still feature traditional pasta houses.

D'Alesandro wore a bow tie and straw boater and helmed an old-school urban Democratic machine, with party bosses pledging the loyalty of their tribes: the Italians, the Irish, the Jews, the blacks. His politics were about favor-trading and patronage, not grand ideological designs. (His aspirations to become governor were thwarted by a corruption scandal involving parking-garage construction, according to a 1954 TIME report.) Pelosi has a strong sense of ethnic identity—she credits her Italian heritage for her stamina—and as a leader she approaches the factions of the Democrats in a similar party-boss style. As her friend the late Congressman John Murtha used to say, "Don't think she's from San Francisco. She's from Baltimore."

Pelosi's family made her a Democrat, but it was the 1960s that made her a liberal. While at Trinity College, a Catholic women's school in D.C. now known as Trinity Washington University, she attended John F. Kennedy's Inauguration and was swept off her feet. "Forget movie

LIFE OF A LEGISLATOR

1940
Baltimore newspapers herald the birth of a baby girl, Nancy D'Alesandro, to the family of a local Congressman and future mayor

1975
Pelosi, a housewife and mother of five, enters her first public office as an appointed member of the San Francisco library commission

1920 1925 1930 1935 1940 1945 1950 1955 1960 1965 1970

1969
Pelosi moves to San Francisco, the hometown of her husband Paul, a financier

1987
Pelosi runs for Congress in a special election after a deathbed request from the incumbent; she wins a 14-way primary to take the seat

1990
Fulfilling a campaign promise to fight AIDS, Pelosi co-authors the Ryan White Act, which devotes billions of dollars in federal funds to treating victims of the disease

stars. We were all in love with JFK," recalls Pelosi's college friend Rita Meyer, one of a tight group of four girlfriends who remain close today. Her worldview still resembles JFK's brand of liberalism: Catholic social justice, with a touch of noblesse oblige.

She embarked on the life of a traditional wife and mother. It was 1963, the year *The Feminine Mystique* was published, and the idea that women would graduate from college and start careers hadn't taken hold. She had watched her own mother's ambitions stifled by a domineering spouse. Now Pelosi followed her husband, financier Paul Pelosi, to New York City and then to San Francisco, giving birth to five children in rapid succession.

Her life changed in 1975, with a call one afternoon from then San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto. "Nancy, what are you doing? Making a big pot of pasta?" she recalls him saying. (Pelosi is not much of a cook.) He offered her a spot on the city's library commission and insisted that she take it. "I said, 'I'm interested in the library, but I don't need an appointment to the commission,'" she recalls. "And he said, 'You shouldn't say that. You're doing the work; you should receive official recognition for it.'" That was a feminist lesson that stuck with her—a woman should get the credit she deserved—even if it was amusingly dissonant with the mayor's assumption that she spent her days slaving over a stove.

Pelosi became active in California politics, raising money for candidates. She went on to chair the California Democratic Party and took a lead role in organizing the 1984 Democratic National Convention. She discovered a talent for assuaging the egos of powerful men even as she stood her ground against them. Yet she still envisioned herself as a helpmeet, a behind-the-scenes player. Then, in 1987, the San Francisco Congresswoman Sala Burton, who was dying of colon cancer, called Pelosi to her bedside and made her promise to run for the seat. When Burton died, Pelosi moved into an elegant house in the posh end of the district and entered a fractious 14-way Democratic primary.

Pelosi positioned herself as a well-connected pragmatist, with the slogan "A voice that will be heard." She spent more than $1 million, a staggering sum at the time and more than the rest of the field combined. Her campaign targeted the district's wealthy residents with flyers that promised she would fight income-tax hikes. It was likely Republican voters who carried her to victory, according to Marc Sandalow's biography *Madam Speaker.*

The district was the center of the city's gay community. Pelosi became its champion, fighting for everything from health insurance and housing subsidies to the AIDS quilt, a football-field-size memorial she convinced the National Park Service to allow on the Mall. She co-authored the bipartisan 1990 Ryan White Act, federally funding the treatment of low-income AIDS patients, which she muscled onto the national agenda and got a Republican President to sign. She was a supporter of gay marriage at a time when her party was pushing the Defense of Marriage Act. In 1993, she read a letter from Bill Clinton at an AIDS rally that the President declined to attend in person. When detractors sneer at her "San Francisco values," she hears a homophobic dog whistle.

As Pelosi saw it, she was sent to Washington to stick up for her constituents. "She knew people personally who were dying by the week," says James Hormel, a co-founder of the Human Rights Campaign and an early Pelosi supporter. "The people in her district don't see her as somebody whose time has passed. They see her as a very vigorous defender of their rights."

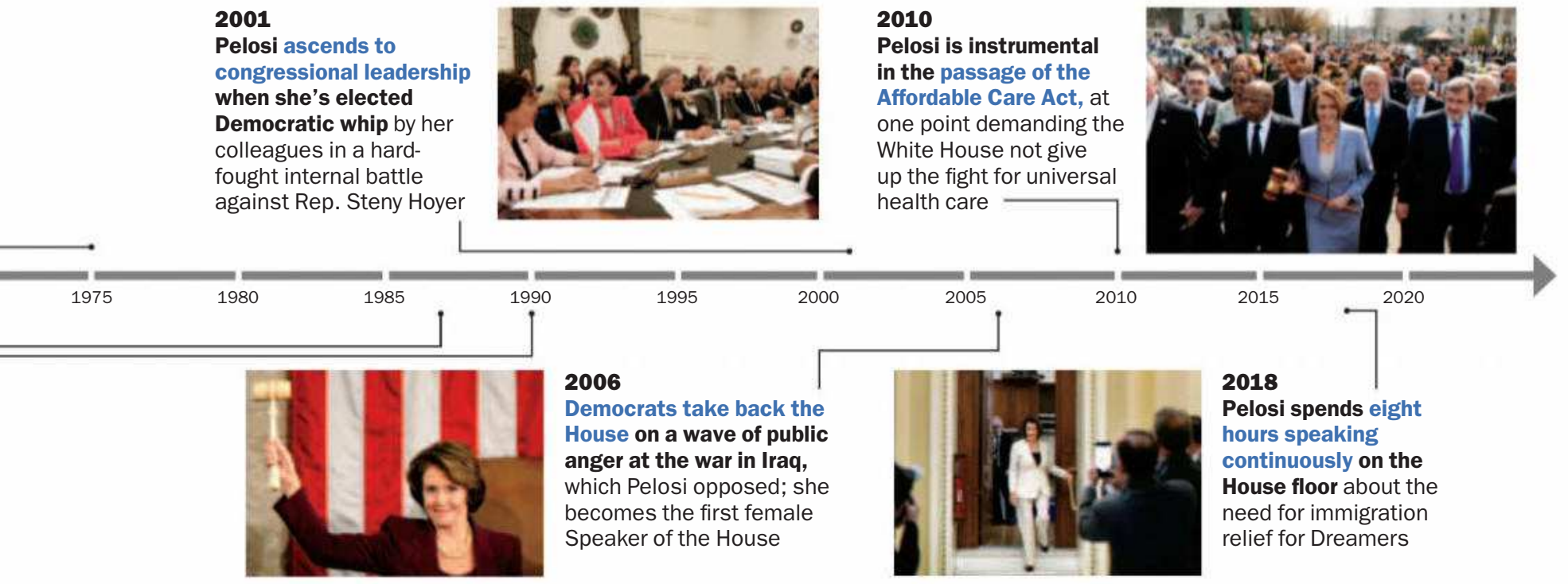
IN THESE DAYS of gridlock, most members of Congress exhibit a sort of learned helplessness, waiting for someone else to come up with an idea so that they can come out against it. It is especially bracing, in this environment, to relive some of Pelosi's early crusades. She may not have set out for Congress, but once she got there, she attacked it with urgency—and frequently won.

As a junior member, she spent five years fine-tuning a complicated plan to preserve San Francisco's verdant Presidio by converting it from a military installation to a public-private partnership with the National Park Service. Her own party put the legislation aside, but Pelosi kept at it, enlisting Republican allies, lobbying fellow members and offering policy concessions. In 1995, she managed to get a Republican Congress to create the nation's most expensive national park—in the middle of San Francisco. As one Republican, James Hansen of Utah, marveled at the time, "There is no question she is a very persistent legislator."

Pelosi claimed to have no interest in a leadership position. But when, in 1997, the only Californian among the Democratic brass stepped down, she saw her moment and began jockeying, calling in favors from her years of fundraising. "She raised the f-cking dough," explained her friend and mentor, former Congressman John Burton of California. "She ought to be able to get something for it."

It took four years for the role Pelosi wanted, Democratic whip, to open up.

1940: COURTESY NANCY PELOSI; 1987, 2001, 2006, 2018: GETTY IMAGES; 2010: EPA/SHUTTERSTOCK



She spent the whole time running a hard-fought race against Representative Steny Hoyer of Maryland, who had known Pelosi since her college days. Pelosi was accused of threatening to punish an unsupportive colleague by getting her district redrawn. Hoyer eventually became Pelosi's No. 2 and a committed frenemy—a situation House Democrats describe as a long-running cold war.

During the George W. Bush years, Pelosi was a vociferous critic. She was the most prominent Democrat to oppose the war in Iraq from the start, believing the intelligence wasn't solid. In 2006, buoyed by an electorate that had come around to Pelosi's antiwar position, the Democrats won the House, and Pelosi became America's first female Speaker.

Then, at the height of the 2008 campaign, the economy collapsed. On the afternoon of Sept. 18, Pelosi called Treasury Secretary Henry Paulson and suggested they meet with congressional leaders the next day. But Paulson said it couldn't wait that long. That evening, the Republican and Democratic leaders of the House and Senate met in Pelosi's conference room with Paulson, Federal Reserve Chairman Ben Bernanke, Securities and Exchange Commission chairman Chris Cox and White House representatives.

There were just six weeks until the election, and it was clear that the bailout Bernanke and Paulson were asking for would be extremely unpopular. House Republican leader John Boehner couldn't deliver the 100 votes he had promised. So Pelosi went back to her people and begged for more support. "She had to go to the Democratic caucus and convince them to give a $700 billion bailout to the most unpopular human beings on the face of the earth, then go home and face their constituents who were losing their homes," says John Lawrence, Pelosi's chief of staff at the time. The bailout passed the House with the support of 172 Democrats and 91 Republicans.

In this and other legislative jams, Pelosi's strategy was persistence, persuasion and an encyclopedic knowledge of her caucus: what they wanted and what they feared. The night before a big vote, she and her staff would pore over the list of uncommitted members, figuring out who could be swayed and how. "Invariably, she'd get to the bottom of the list and go back to the top and start over," says Lawrence, "which was not very appealing at 2 a.m."

When Barack Obama won in 2008, Democrats had their chance to put roughly a decade's worth of pent-up ideas into practice. They enacted fair pay for women, college aid and the stimulus, which included a raft of anti-poverty efforts. Pelosi's House passed other priorities that died in the Senate, including a union-boosting measure and climate legislation. Her unruly caucus spanned the ideological spectrum, from Blue Dog conservatives to far-left ideologues, but Pelosi never lost a major vote. "I was in those rooms when people were saying, 'Let's just throw in the towel,' and she'd say, 'Give me the names and leave me alone for a minute,'" says George Miller, a retired California Congressman.

PELOSI'S STRATEGY IS PERSISTENCE, PERSUASION AND AN ENCYCLOPEDIC KNOWLEDGE OF HER CAUCUS

The crowning achievement of Pelosi's career was health care reform. Democratic Presidents had been pursuing universal health care since the New Deal. Pelosi helped craft the House version of the Affordable Care Act. The trickiest part was balancing regional interests, particularly in setting Medicare and Medicaid reimbursement rates, which vary by jurisdiction. At one point, Pelosi and others recall, an aide told her there were 67 members who hadn't committed to vote for the bill and asked how they should split up the work of persuading them. "Give me the list," Pelosi said, and she made calls through the night.

Pelosi also knew when people didn't want to hear from her and could find other buttons to push. To win the vote of Joe Donnelly, a conservative Indiana Democrat who is now in the Senate, she got the former president of Notre Dame to appeal to his Catholic conscience. Zack Space, a Greek-American former Congressman from Ohio, started getting calls from the Greek-American donor community when Pelosi wanted to apply pressure on a different measure. "She could hear frequencies from the caucus that weren't audible to others," says former New York Congressman Steve Israel.

In January 2010, Democrats lost the Massachusetts Senate seat vacated by the

death of Ted Kennedy, depriving them of their crucial 60th vote to surmount a filibuster. Sensing that the party was losing the politics of the health care debate, White House chief of staff Rahm Emanuel circulated a plan to pull back, passing only a children's health care measure and moving on from the issue. At a meeting in the Oval Office, Pelosi confronted Obama. "Mr. President, I know there are some on your staff who want to take the namby-pamby approach," she said, according to two people who were in the room. "That's unacceptable." Obama took Pelosi's side, and Emanuel's plan died.

Obama's relationship with Pelosi was his closest one on Capitol Hill, a former Obama aide tells me. "More than anyone else in the United States Congress, House or Senate, Democrat or Republican," says the Obama aide, "she always kept her word to him, and she always delivered." (The favor wasn't necessarily repaid: Obama refused to appear at a Pelosi campaign event during his 2012 reelection campaign, according to a source familiar with the episode.)

The halcyon days of liberal legislating were short. In 2010, Republicans took back the House, riding a wave of voter anger at Obama, the Wall Street bailouts and health care reform. Pelosi was expected to resign in defeat, but she refused. There was only one way she would be vindicated: winning the majority again. And she was willing to wait.

IF IT'S FRIDAY, this must be Houston. Pelosi has raised $680 million for her party since 2002, and on this February evening she is clicking her way across the basement floor of the convention-center hotel where the local Democratic Party is holding a fundraising dinner. It's one of 71 events she'll attend in a three-month span. In public, she tries to mention Trump as little as possible, but as she speed-walks through the hotel she can't help herself. "I just can't get over this President," she says. "He is so beneath the dignity of the office, with everything that he says. It's just amazing to me!"

The people at the exclusive predinner reception have all paid to meet Pelosi, but that doesn't mean they all adore her. "She is a strong leader," says Sergio Lira, a local school-board official. "But honestly, I think maybe it's time for a change in leadership. She's been there a long time." Democrats, he says, need leaders who can galvanize and rally the base. "Nothing against her," he says, "but I think her best years are behind her."

It is the Harris County Democratic Party's largest annual dinner in history, a testament to the energy on the left this year. Pelosi sits at a table with her longtime friend, the Democratic megadonor Amber Mostyn, under a giant chandelier. Onstage is Texas Congresswoman Sheila Jackson Lee, a notorious stage hog who once complained that hurricane names are racist. To Pelosi's surprise—she hates being surprised—Jackson Lee has Hillary Clinton on her phone, which she holds up to the mic, causing booming echoes. Clinton, reading woodenly, acknowledges "the presence of our great Democratic leader, Nancy Pelosi," then reads a confusing tribute to a dead woman who has not been honored on the program. (Pelosi's relationship with Clinton is cordial but distant, aides to both say.)

Finally, nearly three hours in, Pelosi takes the stage. Friends say she has improved as a public speaker, but she's still uninspiring, reading laundry lists of policies, reciting shopworn slogans and trotting out the same quotations over and over. "Some people have an unlimited tolerance for the suffering of others," she says at one point. "And we're like, 'What? That's not the way it's supposed to be.'"

Republicans would like the 2018 election to be about Pelosi. "Nancy Pelosi is a theme that works anywhere in the country. It's very motivating," says Corry Bliss, who is in charge of the House Republicans' super PAC, speaking as if Pelosi were a policy proposal. People have a "visceral" reaction to her, he tells me. "We will spend tens of millions of dollars reminding people across the country of what she would do as Speaker."

A Pennsylvania House special election in March foreshadowed this approach. Nearly 60% of the GOP's ads consisted of attacks on Pelosi, while 7% of the Democrat's ads featured the candidate assuring voters he didn't support her, according to the Wesleyan Media Project. The Democrat, Conor Lamb, won anyway. "If all we've got is Nancy Pelosi," a Republican strategist told me, "we're pretty desperate. It's not going to be enough."

What Pelosi would like the election to be about is neither her nor Trump but the tax legislation that the Republican Congress passed in December, which she has dubbed the "GOP tax scam." Calling it a handout for the wealthy, she has derided its benefits to the middle class as mere "crumbs," a comment for which Republicans pilloried her. But Pelosi thinks she's winning the argument. In their midterm campaigns, Republicans have largely stopped touting the tax bill, as the message didn't seem to be resonating.

Pelosi may have a rare talent for legislating, but her campaign skills are questionable. As proof of her acumen, she's still telling the story of the 2000 elections, when she helped her party pick up five House seats in California even as Democrats lost races across the country. She takes credit when her party wins, but blames others when Democrats lose. Her message this year, that Republicans are for the rich, is essentially the same one Democrats have used in every recent election, with a couple of new slogans attached—even thought the President is far from a normal Republican. "The leadership is still in this 1990s mind-set," a former member tells me.

The morning after the dinner in Houston, Pelosi travels to a teachers'-union hall for a discussion on the tax law. She sits in a folding chair at the front of the room, enduring another endless preaching-to-the-choir event. One person asks her what Democrats can do about people "voting against their best

'I JUST CAN'T GET OVER THIS PRESIDENT. HE IS SO BENEATH THE DIGNITY OF THE OFFICE.'

NANCY PELOSI,
on President Trump

Pelosi and Senate Democratic leader Chuck Schumer huddle in the Capitol in March

SAUL LOEB—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

interests," and Pelosi speaks carefully, not wanting to be baited into a "basket of deplorables" moment.

Trump voters, she says, need compassion, not condescension. "I don't want to be disrespectful of any of the people who voted for the President," she says. "I do want to make sure they understand what he is doing to them." It may take patience, she adds. "Did you ever know anybody who was dating a jerk?" she asks. "Could you tell her? No. You have to wait until she figures it out for herself—hopefully before it's too late—or you'll just drive her into his arms."

Later, Pelosi mingles with the crowd. A woman has brought a book to be signed for her daughter. "You're an inspiration," she says. A man volunteers advice: "Put President Trump on the spot!" he says. "Offer to debate him!" The women have gratitude; the men have demands. The women respect her; the men want to tell her what to do. She smiles graciously and poses for another picture.

FOR SOMEONE LIKE PELOSI, who has spent her life in service of institutions—indeed, for anyone who has spent their life following a set of agreed-upon rules—the Trump era has been destabilizing. But Pelosi evinces an odd equanimity. Not wanting to become Trump's foil, she lambastes him far less than she did Bush. "Being surprised, disappointed, even wondering about his behavior is a luxury we can't afford," she tells me over dinner at a Houston resort. It's another one of her tiny nonmeals: she'll consume only a bowl of seafood chowder and a glass of water, and spend nearly three hours talking. "I can't waste my time thinking, Why would he say that? Why would anybody support somebody who says that?" she says. "It doesn't matter anymore. All we have to do is win this election so that we can have leverage for the American people."

In the meantime, Pelosi has used her scant power in Congress to considerable effect. Despite controlling all three branches of government, Republicans have proved unable to enact most of their promises, including their signature vow to repeal Obamacare. Pelosi and her Senate counterpart, Chuck Schumer, have repeatedly outmaneuvered the President. In September 2017, they got Trump to agree to a spending deal that raised the debt ceiling and funded the government, drawing howls from conservatives. In March they cut another spending deal, this one so favorable to Democrats that Trump blasted it even as he signed it.

No detail in that bill escaped Pelosi's attention. At one point, to resolve an impasse over minor-league baseball salaries, she worked out a compromise with the league through her relationship with the president of the San Francisco Giants, securing the players a pay increase. The final bill lifted spending caps and boosted domestic appropriations by some $60 billion, while blocking Republican efforts at environmental, labor and banking deregulation. "We wouldn't have been able to pass that spending package under Barack Obama," a House Democratic staffer told me. "Republicans would have laughed us out of the room." The real art of the deal in Washington is being practiced by Pelosi, in what ought to be the Capitol's least powerful caucus.

Pelosi's talents aren't always enough. Last year, the President told her and Schumer he wanted to protect young undocumented immigrants, known as Dreamers. But he soon retreated to a hard-line position. A January government shutdown over the issue ended after two days, when Senate Democrats panicked and caved. In February, Pelosi made a last stand, taking to the floor of the House for eight hours to read the stories

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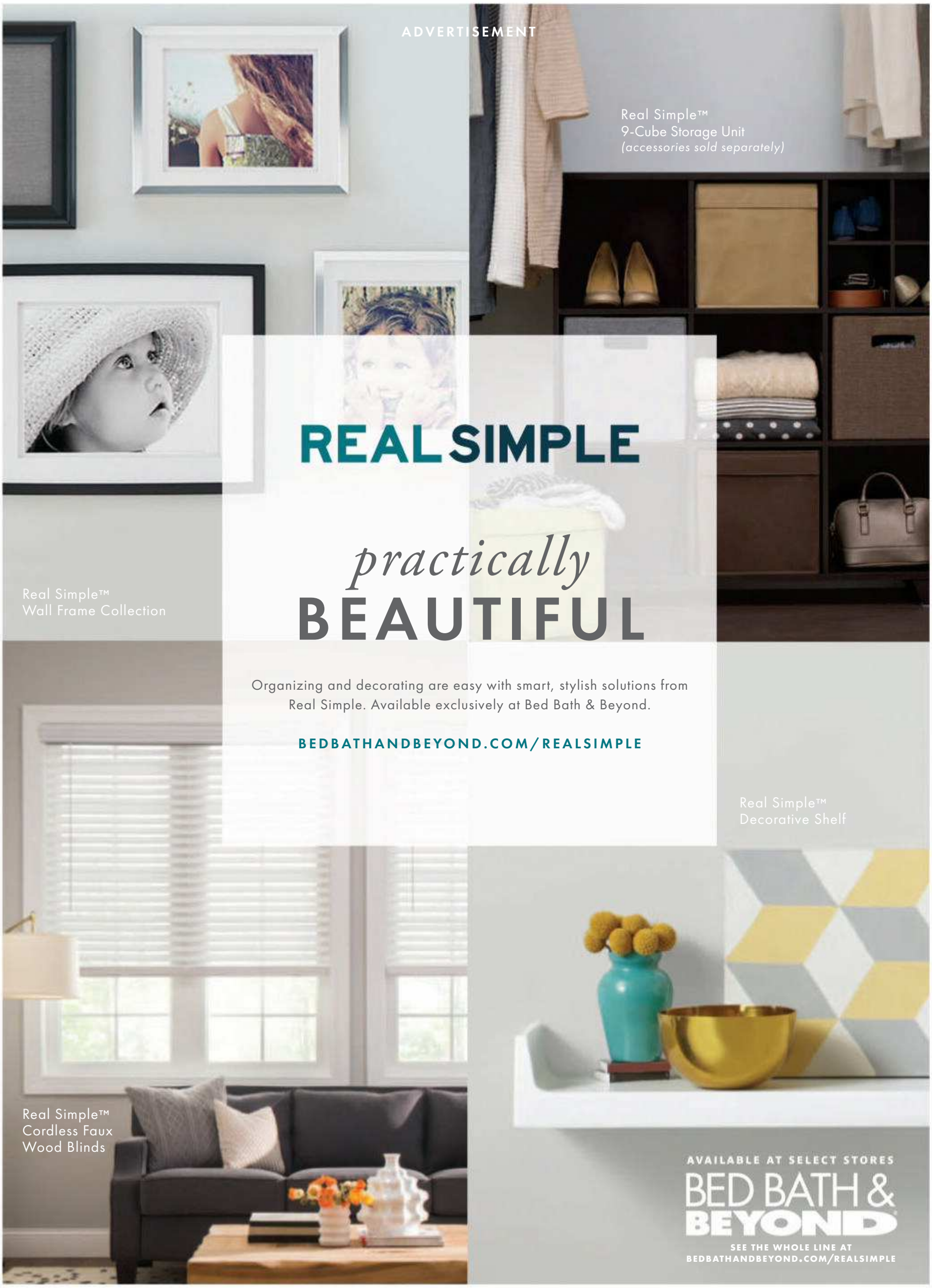

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of young immigrants. It was a political stunt designed to draw attention away from the fact that Democrats had failed the Dreamers.

The following month, Pelosi called Trump in a last-ditch effort to work out a solution. He greeted her by noting that he had recently run into her son in Palm Beach, Fla. Pelosi steered the conversation to immigration, urging him to support bipartisan legislation pairing a Dreamer fix with border-security measures. Trump, noncommittal, suggested they have lunch instead. Pelosi concluded that she was wasting her time and turned him down.

Trump blasts Pelosi in public, but in private he treats her with a sometimes awkward solicitousness. At one White House meeting, Pelosi casually said that the group assembled should "pray for success" on immigration, according to an aide briefed on the meeting. "Are you going to pray?" Trump asked her. She ignored him and kept talking, only to have him repeatedly implore her to "do a prayer." Seeing that she did not intend to conduct one, Trump finally got Vice President Mike Pence to do it instead.

Thanks in large part to Trump's unpopularity, a comeback is in sight for the Democrats. As many as 91 Republican-held seats may be vulnerable in November, and most nonpartisan handicappers think Democrats are favored to gain the 23 seats they need to retake the House. That would make Pelosi the Speaker again—if a majority of Democrats support her.

She insists that they do, but her hold on the caucus has clearly diminished. In 2016, 63 House Democrats—nearly one-third—voted against her for leader. No one argued that Pelosi's challenger, Ohio Representative Tim Ryan, could manage the caucus better, negotiate better deals with Trump or better shepherd complicated legislation through the fractious and unruly House. They just wanted change.

Since then, the angst has only grown. Crowley's defeat inspired more infighting, with younger members such as Representative Seth Moulton of Massachusetts agitating for her ouster. Ocasio-Cortez, who hasn't said whether she would support Pelosi, epitomizes the young, diverse, far-left grassroots Democrats who find Pelosi frustrating. In June, after Congresswoman Maxine Waters urged supporters to publicly confront members of the Trump Administration, Pelosi rebuked her, tweeting, "Trump's daily lack of civility has provoked responses that are predictable but unacceptable." The base erupted. The old, white establishment of the Democratic Party "just isn't where the base is on how big a threat white supremacy is to the country," says Sean McElwee, co-founder of Data for Progress, "vs. how big a threat being mean to Trump is."

DESPITE THE FRUSTRATIONS, Pelosi persists. No one I spoke to expects she will lose a Speaker vote if Democrats take the House by a big margin. If they lose or win a slim majority, it could be a different story. Her grip on her caucus is principally due to her legislative skills and the favors she has accrued. But it's also because there's no obvious successor. Over the years, Pelosi has frozen out, stymied or simply outlasted younger members who seemed to pose threats, most of whom—Chris Van Hollen, Xavier Becerra, Israel—have given up and left the House. Crowley's loss removed another potential threat, while also creating a vacancy in leadership. A competition for that position would take some heat off Pelosi. But the threat is real: under pressure from members, Pelosi in mid-July pushed back the party's post-election leadership vote until after Thanksgiving.

The idea that she's a liability peeves Pelosi and her staff, who argue Republican congressional leaders are just as unpopular, if not more so. In a June Gallup poll, Pelosi's approval rating was 29%, while outgoing Speaker Paul Ryan's was 40%, Schumer's was 29%, and Republican Senate leader Mitch McConnell's was 24%. "I think I have my pluses and my minuses," Pelosi tells me. "But I have a confidence about what I bring to the table in terms of my network of friends around the country. And I get things done, even with a Republican President."

PELOSI HAS FROZEN OUT, STYMIED OR SIMPLY OUTLASTED YOUNGER MEMBERS

Pelosi has been reading about the technicalities of impeachment, but she thinks it's a political loser now. "I have my judgment about this President," she says. "But the American people are not going to accept an impeachment if there isn't solid, conclusive evidence presented in a non-political way." Some of her colleagues, I reply, believe that evidence already exists. "We'll see what Mr. Mueller discovers," she says. "It remains to be seen."

It's now dark outside and I'm exhausted, having met Pelosi after her morning walk and 8 a.m. hair appointment, taken half as many meetings and worn substantially more comfortable shoes. After this, I'll go to bed, but Pelosi will take advantage of the time difference to make several hours of calls to the West Coast. An aide refers to her pace as "kill-the-staff speed."

Thinking back to our conversation in Baltimore, I ask Pelosi if men aren't right to feel threatened by the rise of women. After all, there's only so much power to go around. She disagrees, insisting it's not a zero-sum game. But isn't there only one Speaker of the House? "That's just one job," she says. "There are other jobs."

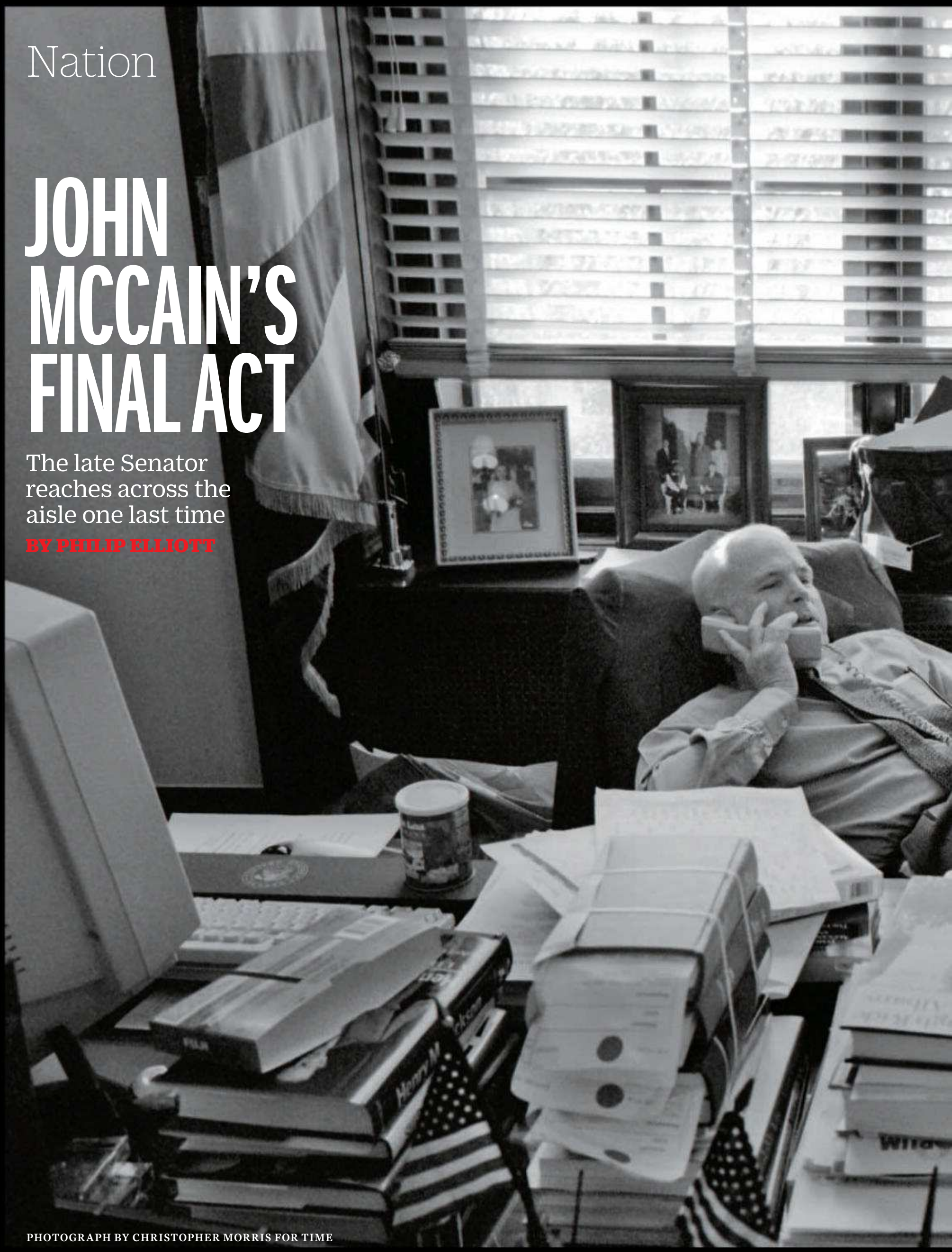
Once, while she was Speaker, Pelosi traveled to Afghanistan via Kuwait. The Kuwaitis treated her with elaborate deference, calling her "Your Excellency." As the military plane soared over snow-capped peaks, Pelosi heard the pilot say he was headed for Kabul. That's wrong, she said. You're supposed to be taking me to Bagram Airfield to see the troops. But the pilot wouldn't take her word for it. He called the U.S. embassy in Pakistan. She could hear him on the radio: "Our instructions say to go to Kabul, but payload wants to go to Bagram." Pelosi cracks up at the memory: "In a few hours, I went from 'excellency' to 'payload'!"

She leaves the real punch line unspoken. It didn't matter what they called her. In the end, they did what she wanted. ◻

JOHN MCCAIN'S FINAL ACT

The late Senator reaches across the aisle one last time

BY PHILIP ELLIOTT



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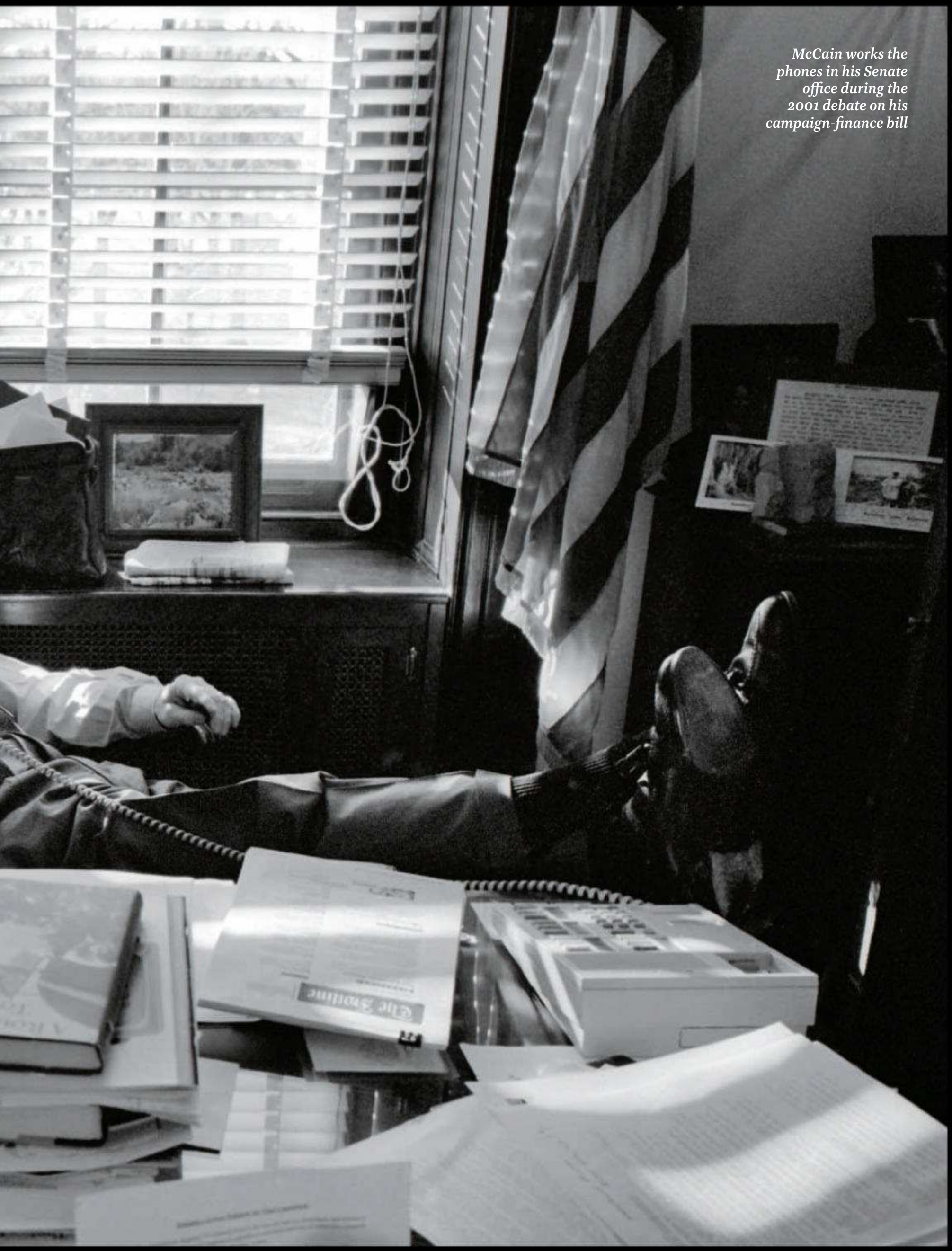

McCain works the phones in his Senate office during the 2001 debate on his campaign-finance bill

Nation

Former Presidents Obama and Bush were among the mourners to eulogize McCain at Washington's National Cathedral on Sept. 1

THE TOWN CARS ARRIVED ONE BY ONE at Washington's National Cathedral, delivering a procession of political dignitaries that spanned generations and ideological divides. Inside, Presidents, fellow members of Congress and former political rivals gathered to salute Senator John Sidney McCain III. They spoke of his military record and rebellious youth, cracked wise about his temper and his sense of humor, praised his bravery and decency.

By the end of a week of tributes, it was clear that Washington's political class was mourning more than the passing of a friend. They were saying farewell to an era that McCain, who died on Aug. 25 at age 81 after a battle with brain cancer, had come to represent. The Arizona Republican was an American icon, a man whose six decades of public service were characterized by his fidelity to principle, his willingness to work with opponents and his distaste for the partisan posturing that mars our public life. "We never doubted the other man's sincerity or the other man's patriotism," said former President Barack Obama, who defeated McCain in 2008 but later sought his counsel in trying moments. "We never doubted we were on the same team."

It is fitting that McCain's final act was to force Washington to reach across the aisle one last time. He invited Obama and former President George W. Bush, who bested McCain for the Republican presidential nomination in 2000, to offer eulogies. If that message wasn't loud enough, intermediaries made it clear that President Donald Trump was unwelcome at the services. Everything from McCain's choice of pallbearers (among them a Russian dissident) to the tone of the tributes was a carefully choreographed rebuke of Trumpian politics. "The America of John McCain has no need to be made great again because America was always great," declared Meghan McCain, the Senator's daughter, drawing a rousing ovation.

But despite all the homages, there was a sense inside the cathedral that the maverick political spirit McCain embodied dies with him. No one in today's Senate is rushing to fill McCain's role as an elder statesman and independent voice. Today, Republicans willing to rebuke the President are an endangered species. Arizona's other Senator, Jeff Flake, and Tennessee's Bob Corker, two GOP lawmakers who frequently criticize Trump, decided to retire rather than stand for re-election this year. Senator Lindsey Graham, a close McCain friend, complained that Trump's disrespect of McCain "pisses me off to no end." Yet the South Carolina Republican is a golfing partner for the President. When they were running against each other for the party's nomination, Senator Ted Cruz called Trump a "serial philanderer," an amoral narcissist and a "pathological liar." Now, in a battle for re-election, Cruz asked the President to come to Texas and campaign for him.

In Trump's GOP, McCain's bipartisanship has long since gone out of style. One recent poll, conducted while McCain was fighting terminal cancer, found just 41% of Republicans expressed a positive view of the Senator, less than half the percentage that backs Trump. In that poll, McCain's approval rating was far higher among Democrats than among members of his own party. Indeed, it was a Democratic colleague, Senate minority leader Chuck Schumer of New York, who proposed renaming the Russell Senate Office Building, where McCain worked for 31 years, in his honor. That effort appears unlikely to succeed, because some of McCain's GOP colleagues would prefer to keep the name of a segregationist Democrat on the building rather than rechristen it for a man disliked by much of the GOP base. Like nearly everyone else in the wake of his passing, those Senate colleagues professed reverence for McCain's service to his country. But unlike McCain, they were unwilling to put themselves on the line when the risks became real.

MCCAIN WAS an American original. His temper was legendary, his warmth remarkable. He swore like the sailor he once was and loved a good night in a casino, sometimes staying well past midnight with friends, lobbyists and fellow lawmakers. He fought with members of both parties, shrugged off his critics and often remarked that while no one would mistake him for Miss Congeniality, no one would accuse him of being a pushover either. His political instincts were hardly foolproof, but his principles rarely

PREVIOUS PAGES AND ABOVE: CHRISTOPHER MORRIS—VII FOR TIME; MCCAIN, KAINE: GETTY IMAGES

wavered. The slogan of his unsuccessful 2008 presidential campaign, "Country First," rang true until the end.

McCain grew up in the Washington area and followed the path of his father and grandfather to the U.S. Naval Academy. He became a fighter pilot, flying 23 missions over North Vietnam. In the final one, on Oct. 26, 1967, his Skyhawk dive bomber was downed by a missile that blew off its wing. McCain became a prisoner of war, enduring more than five years of captivity and beatings, because he refused to defy the military's ethics that the first prisoner taken should be the first to be released.

McCain spent two terms in the House before winning his Senate seat in 1986. A conservative and a staunch defense hawk, he nevertheless demonstrated a willingness to work across party lines. During his decades in the Senate, he teamed up with Wisconsin Democrat Russ Feingold on a plan to impose new limits on soft-money spending and with Democratic Senator and fellow Vietnam veteran John Kerry to lay the groundwork to normalize relations with Vietnam in the 1990s. Bipartisan approaches to big problems became a McCain hallmark, presaging his repeated and incomplete attempts to overhaul the nation's immigration system.

McCain was as famous for his persona as for any policy he authored. He could treat a *Saturday Night Live* sketch and a defense hearing with the same sly humor. He took the time to know not just heads of state but also up-and-comers in foreign parliaments who would guide the next generation. Seldom could a reporter ask him a question that McCain hadn't considered at length or wasn't willing to discuss in hours of interviews in Capitol Hill hallways or aboard his campaign bus, branded the Straight Talk Express.

EVERYTHING ABOUT MCCAIN contrasted starkly with the White House's current occupant. McCain for years sought a bipartisan solution to the nation's broken immigration system; Trump's campaign caught fire when he stoked anti-immigration fears. McCain's career in the military was courageous; Trump won five deferments from the Vietnam-era draft. During his campaign, Trump mocked McCain's years as a prisoner of war and refused to back down, even after the Senator's diagnosis. A go-to line at Trump's rallies was mocking McCain's vote against Obamacare's repeal. "Thumbs down," Trump sneered, even as McCain retreated to his Arizona ranch to fight for his life.

After McCain died, Trump initially declined to offer a proclamation honoring the death of an American war hero. Aides had to persuade him to re-lower the flags atop the White House to half-staff. As official Washington paid tribute to McCain at the cathedral, Trump was at the White House tweeting attacks on the press, the courts and Canada. McCain's family and friends made clear at the service that the disgust ran both ways. "We gather here to mourn the passing of American greatness—the real thing," Meghan McCain said, "not cheap rhetoric from men who will never come near the sacrifices he gave so willingly, nor the opportunistic appropriation of those who live lives of comfort and privilege while he suffered and served."

That McCain was the posthumous bombardier behind this final anti-Trump broadside was evident enough. Under the neo-Gothic columns and before a national television audience, the collection of political leaders assembled in his

APPRECIATION

Learning from a lion

By Tim Kaine

I came to the Senate in 2013, knowing John McCain the legend but not John McCain the man. But he since became my colleague and chair. We traveled together. He taught me a lot.

In my first months on the Senate Armed Services Committee, I unknowingly walked into a firefight with him during a hearing. When he didn't like the tack I was taking in a line of questioning, he interrupted me, and the fight was on. We locked into a back-and-forth, with witnesses, trying to prove our points. Afterward, I was worried that I had offended him—a first-year Senator battling with a Senate lion. But he clapped me on the back, and it was clear he loved it. McCain famously used to say, "A fight not joined is a fight not enjoyed."

John was the first colleague to seek me out after I returned to the Senate a few days after the November 2016 election. He came up to me and said, "Tim, there is only one person in the Senate who knows just how you feel. You and I are the only ones who have been on a national ticket and lost. And my advice to you is just get right back to work."

I've been thinking of those words a lot in the days since his death. He was right. It is good to get back to work. But losing him is still painful.

Kaine is a Democratic Senator from Virginia

Senators McCain and Kaine on July 8, 2014

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honor never mentioned the President's name, but they didn't need to. "He was honorable," Bush said, "always recognizing that his opponents were still patriots and human beings. Obama joked that McCain would have sniggered about the scene he had engineered. "What better way to get a last laugh than to make George and I say nice things about him to a national audience?"

It was a tableau from a bygone era. Former Senator Mike DeWine of Ohio, a Republican, and the Senate's No. 2 Democrat, Dick Durbin of Illinois, embraced near the cathedral's south entrance. Democratic leaders Nancy Pelosi and Schumer crossed the grand space to warmly greet their onetime archenemy Bush. For the moment, on this humid Saturday morning, official Washington took its stage direction from McCain one last time.

Yet it was lost on no one that the values on display at McCain's service are hard to find elsewhere in Washington. At this moment in our politics, McCain was an anachronism. "We shall not see his like again," former Vice President Joe Biden, a Delaware Democrat who developed a close friendship with McCain in the Senate, said during a memorial service in Phoenix earlier in the week.

Even younger colleagues who admired McCain, Biden said, weren't sure what to make of him. "They look at him as if John came from another age, that he lived by a different code, an ancient, antiquated code—where honor, courage, character, integrity, duty were what mattered. Because that was obvious how John lived his life. But the truth is, John's code was ageless."

Perhaps that can give McCain's admirers some lasting solace after his death. Absent as his code may be in Washington today, it will survive him and Trump alike. And like McCain's life, it will continue to inspire. ◻

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John McCain: A Patriot's Life, 1936–2018, a new Time Inc. Books special edition, looks back at the Senator's life ▸

APPRECIATION

The true legends of John McCain

By James Stavridis

AS A MIDSHIPMAN at the U.S. Naval Academy in the 1970s, I had my first close-up look at John McCain. I was part of a small group privileged to meet with him when he visited Annapolis. We knew about the Hanoi Hilton, of course—but truth be told, we were much more impressed by everything he had gotten away with at the academy.

We all knew he graduated at just about the absolute bottom of his class of 899, and we loved how he skated on the edge of expulsion. Clearly the objection to authority was a central organizing feature of his life. No one "went over the wall" (as in, violated curfew) more than Midshipman McCain. No one racked up more demerits. No one dated more women. He was a Naval Academy legend long before he was a Navy legend or a national legend, and those of us who wear the ring of Annapolis will always claim him as that academy legend first.

Later, in the early 1990s, when I was serving as a destroyer captain for the first time in Norfolk, Va., I was informed he would be visiting my brand-new warship, the U.S.S. *Barry*. When he addressed my crew, I was deeply impressed—he had them alternatively in awe, in stitches at his one-liners and ultimately inspired by his life and experiences. As a result of horrific treatment at the Hanoi Hilton, he could not raise his arms above his head. But he never had a problem raising his voice. Even when his terminal illness put him in a wheelchair, you never had a problem knowing where John McCain stood.

Later in my career, I testified before him many times. Some of these appearances were a walk in the park. But when you were not in alignment with the Senator, it could be a rough sea to sail. Although he was the son and grandson of four-star admirals, when he was grilling you in testimony, you would swear he was the progeny of drill sergeants. No one could lead a witness like McCain, and his knowledge of the issues was unparalleled.

Overseas, he was regarded as a fundamental plank in the transatlantic bridge. Not only was he a lion of the Senate, he was also a post–Cold War champion of NATO, and the alliance is a little less secure in its footing today. American allies across the globe will miss his deep understanding of the importance of our network of allies, partners and friends—and his willingness to call out the current churlish President.

All of that matters in understanding the man. But what is most important to me about John McCain is how well he represented the seemingly forgotten center in American politics. McCain could see both east and west, but he resolutely followed his own compass. There are precious few in the American body politic who could claim that so truly as McCain, and we are poorer for his passing in that regard above all else.

For all the times that he flayed me in testimony or that I disagreed with an aspect of his views, I deeply honor his long voyage and all that he stood for. He sailed true north through a long and vital life, and I hope to see him again across that distant sea we all must sail one day.

Admiral Stavridis (ret.) was the 16th Supreme Allied Commander at NATO and is an operating executive at the Carlyle Group

ROCCO MORABITO—JACKSONVILLE JOURNAL/AP

Lieut. Commander McCain waves to well-wishers on March 18, 1973

Essay

OUR DAY

THIS HATEFUL MOMENT OFFERS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR AME

RICANS. JUST DON'T LET THE LOUD BIGOTS DISTRACT YOU

BY EDDIE S. GLAUDE JR.

SOUL

In a recent viral video, an unidentified white woman in line at a grocery store in Oregon, dressed in a floral romper and black knee-high boots, overheard a black woman's phone conversation. She believed this black woman was trying to sell food stamps illegally. The exchange became heated, and the white woman was told, in no uncertain terms, to mind her business. "Oh, it is my business," the white woman responded. "Because I pay my taxes." She then said something that, quite frankly, stunned me: "We're going to build this wall."

This was not an oddly timed statement about her views on immigration; it was a declaration of her whiteness and, by extension, her view of who belonged in this country. She might as well have called the black woman a nigger. She didn't. She called the police instead.

But no, this wasn't a video of police violence or another example of some white person hurling racial epithets. In so many ways, the argument between these two women captured the soft bigotry that has, from beneath the surface, enabled American public policy and individual behavior for decades. This woman, years after the departure of what Newt Gingrich called in 2011 "the most successful food-stamp President in American history," saw a member of Mitt Romney's "47% … who are dependent upon government … who pay no income tax." This white woman witnessed Ronald Reagan's welfare queen. Now she had not just a new phrase—*build this wall*—but also the confidence that the President would support her in her indignation, and that the problem would soon be resolved. America would be great again.

It is this type of outburst, though—blaring and easy to denounce—that provides many Americans with a familiar experience: the moral comfort of having someone else to blame for our nation's racial struggles. If only we, the non-racists, could kick *her* out, or lock *her* up.

It is relatively easy to blame our current struggles on these loud racists who have been emboldened by the election of Donald Trump. But this is typical American racial melodrama. We need easily marked villains and happy endings. Yet this recital of condemnation all too often hides the messiness of our own moral lives: that we aren't absolved of our complicity simply by the politicians we support, especially since the American public so rarely pushes for policies that enact our supposed commitment to racial equality.

The fact is that Americans have grown comfortable with racism resting just beneath the surface of our politics—to be activated whenever a politician or a community needed it, or some racist incident exhumed it only for us to bury it once again. What has resulted is an illusion that blinds us to what was actually happening right in front of our noses and in our heads—we believed that our country had become less racist, because we were not as brazen as we once were.

Trump has shattered that illusion. He rode race, the third rail of American politics, straight to the White House. He challenged Obama's citizenship, called Mexicans rapists and criminals, proposed to ban all Muslims from entering the country, insisted on the need for "law and order," argued that immigration was changing the "character" of the United States and openly courted white supremacists. He dog-whistled in a way that let no one feign deafness. Trump promised to dismantle Obamacare and provide a "beautiful" alternative, to make Mexico pay for "the wall" and to restore America's manufacturing greatness—jobs and tax relief included. His pledges spoke directly to the forgotten American's sense of victimhood: that he had been left behind during the Obama years and that his way of life was under threat.

Trump exists in a sweet spot between the soft bigotry of self-contradictory American liberals and the loud racism of those who shout "nigger" and demand that Latino people go back to Mexico, all stuck in an economic system that cannot reconcile the startling gap between the top 1% and those busting their behinds to make ends meet. Trump sits right there, amid the mess and false promises, with a smirk on his face.

But Trump isn't some nefarious character unlike anything we have seen before. He embodies the hatreds and fears that have been part of America's politics since its founding and that

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Glaude, the William S. Tod professor of religion and African-American studies at Princeton University, is the author of Democracy in Black: How Race Still Enslaves the American Soul

erupt with every rapid change in our society and world. He stands in a tradition of American politics that can be traced to Strom Thurmond's 1948 Dixiecrat run for the presidency, George Wallace's bids for the presidency in 1968 and 1972, and Patrick Buchanan's runs in 1992 and '96. Each of these men could move a crowd with their homespun rhetoric and their willingness to speak unvarnished truth with little regard for the consequences—and each sought to give voice to a deeply felt sense of white victimhood as the nation grappled with significant social transformation, be it the end of the Jim Crow South or the tumult of the '60s revolution. America responded, at least in words, by othering them: *These were marginal men and marginal thoughts.* The grievances were real, the country said. The messengers and their racial animus were the problem. This separation—of so-called grievance from racial animus—was a grave error, and it is one we are in the process of repeating.

In 2016, the degree to which a person deeply identified as white "strongly related to Republicans' support for Donald Trump," political scientists John Sides, Michael Tesler and Lynn Vavreck write in their forthcoming book, *Identity Crisis: The 2016 Presidential Campaign and the Battle for the Meaning of America.* For instance, among white millennials who voted for Trump, a sense of white vulnerability—"the perception that whites, through no fault of their own, are losing ground to others"—and racial resentment were more important factors than economic anxiety, found researchers Matthew Fowler, Vladimir Medenica and Cathy Cohen of the GenForward Survey at the University of Chicago. In fact, Tesler says—and this insight goes beyond those millennials—"economic anxiety isn't driving racial resentment; rather, racial resentment is driving economic anxiety."

Despite this, we heard over and over again from pundits and politicians—including Democrats—that racism couldn't explain the counties that voted for Donald Trump and Barack Obama, that more attention needed to be given to the dire circumstances of working white men and women, that Trump's election was a white, working-class, often rural backlash and what was needed was a focus on Middle America. This criticism coalesced with an ongoing obsession about what suburban white America was thinking. All the while, they decried the President's use of explicit racism, as opposed to the implicit kind they had been endorsing, knowingly or not. The problem was him—not us.

It felt like folks weren't fighting the true problem. They were, in fact, protecting it.

OUR NARROW FOCUS ON EXPLICIT RACISTS misses a development that explains our current moment: that much of our struggle with race today is bound up in the false innocence of white suburban bliss and the manic effort to protect it, no matter the costs. In the late 1960s and early '70s, for example, millions of white homeowners in the nation's suburbs—for the most part, racially segregated communities subsidized by state policies—rejected efforts to desegregate schools through busing and vehemently defended the demographic makeup of their neighborhoods. These were not people shouting slurs at the top of their lungs (although some did). They were courageous defenders of

Trump isn't some nefarious character unlike anything we have seen before. He embodies the hatreds and fears that have been part of America's politics since its founding and that erupt with every rapid change in our society and world

their quality of life—segregated life, that is. These were the people of the so-called "silent majority," who insisted on free-market meritocracy and embraced a color-blind ideology to maintain their racially exclusive enclaves. Their antibusing crusades, taxpayer revolts and insistence on neighborhood schools cut across party lines and helped shape national politics. Democrats and Republicans appealed to the interests of these voters, and many turned their backs on the agenda of the civil rights movement. These Americans, it was argued, were the true victims.

In his important 2006 book, *The Silent Majority: Suburban Politics in the Sunbelt South,* historian Matthew D. Lassiter stated clearly the effect of this moment from the late 1960s and early '70s:

> *The suburban politics of middle-class warfare charted a middle course between the open racism of the extreme right and the egalitarian agenda of the civil rights movement, based in an ethos of color-blind individualism that accepted the principle of equal opportunity under the law but refused to countenance affirmative-*

action policies designed to overcome metropolitan structures of inequality.

Suburban white America voiced its belief in racial equality, but relentlessly held on to white class privilege and all the policies and structures that made it possible. Many social scientists would call this the "new racism" or "laissez-faire racism," in which white Americans failed to actively address racial inequality and, in doing so, maintained the racial status quo. Historians, like Lassiter, would identify it as a key feature of modern American conservatism.

White people's expressed racial attitudes, by most measures, have become progressively better. Today, according to public-opinion surveys, most Americans don't hold the views of Strom Thurmond in 1948 or George Wallace in 1968. They believe in integrated schools and reject segregated public transportation and the like. In the early 1940s, according to Harvard sociologist Lawrence Bobo, 68% of white Americans supported formal segregation. By the 1990s, 96% of white Americans believed that black and white children should attend the same school. But as Bobo wrote in his classic 2001 essay, "Racial Attitudes and Relations at the Close of the 20th Century," these expressed commitments stand alongside "numerous signs of the gulf in perception that often separates blacks and whites."

A 2017 study by the Public Religion Research Institute, for example, showed that 87% of black Americans say black people face a lot of discrimination today. Only 49% of white Americans feel the same. The disconnect between our stated commitments and our practice is so great that we can't even agree what the problem is. This is the hazy middle ground of the silent majority.

That same study found that 43% of Republicans said there is a lot of discrimination against whites. Only 27% of Republicans said the same with regard to discrimination against blacks. This makes sense. Since the mid–20th century, Republicans have made a living as the party of white grievance, even as it puts forward "pro-growth" policies and ardently defends the benefits of small government. (I know many of my friends will cry foul here and shout that this conclusion is just an indication of my singular focus on race. Their evasion is part of the problem.)

What is less explored is the Democrats. The recognition of the volatility of race led many in the party, especially those who founded the Democratic Leadership Council in 1985, to work hard to win back white middle-class voters by addressing their concerns. Ever since, Democratic strategists and politicians have been in hot pursuit of so-called "Reagan Democrats" and aimed to speak—especially after Trump's election—to what they generally described as working-class America. Here they rejected bad identity politics in favor of a politics that did not alienate the white working class. Bill Clinton's strategy of triangulation reflected a cynical co-optation of Republican views that drove the party to the center-right while taking black voters, among others, for granted. (In a way, Hillary Clinton duplicated this approach in 2016 in her effort to court "Bush Republicans" who said they couldn't vote for Trump.) Meanwhile, as politicians courted the ideal white voter, racial inequality persisted and black political participation was distorted, as we African Americans stood between a party that assumed we would support them nonetheless.

Americans experienced the confusing effects of this pervasive contradiction between our stated commitments and practices with the election of Barack Obama. For many, Obama's ascendance signaled the end of entitlement for whites. But instead, his presidency occasioned a resurgence of white resentment that set the stage for Trump. We experienced the vitriol of the Tea Party and saw several states seek to enact strict voter-ID laws that disproportionately impact black and brown voters, sometimes successfully. Obama proved our national commitment to racial equality. The vehement hatred of him exposed the illusion for what it is.

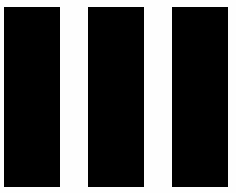
What has for so long been hidden—or willfully ignored—is now in the open. Americans will have to decide whether or not this country will remain racist

All the talk about equality serves as a kind of cover for the actual practices that continue to reproduce differential outcomes for black and brown people and protect white class advantage. Trump can promote the lie that his policies alone have produced the lowest black unemployment rate in history. He gives no credit to the Obama Administration and pays little attention to black labor-participation rates. He is silent about what would happen to the numbers if we include, as Harvard sociologist Bruce Western suggests, those who are incarcerated. Trump only cites the numbers to deepen the illusion and to justify the dismissal of claims of racial inequality as simple cries of victimhood.

It turns out what we do reveals what we truly believe—no matter the public proclamations of our commitment to a more perfect union. The

facts of our daily lives in this country speak volumes. Studies reveal the racial bias in policing; in sentencing and rates of incarceration; in differential punishment in schools for black and brown children; in the persistence of residential segregation and its cascading effect in the life cycle of black people; in how even if an African-American or Hispanic adult earns a college degree, she will still financially lag behind a white American with the same degree.

But all of this was the case before Trump was elected. It is not enough, then, to decry the loud racists or to resist Donald Trump. We must, once and for all, confront the silent majority—even if until now we did not realize we are them. We must confront ourselves.



THE DESIRE TO DISTANCE ONESELF FROM Trump fits perfectly with the American insistence that we not see ourselves for who we actually are. We evade the historical wounds, the individual pain and the lasting effects of it all. The lynched relative; the buried son killed at the hands of the police; the millions locked away to rot in prisons; the children languishing in failed schools; the smothering, concentrated poverty passed down from generation to generation; and the generalized indifference to lives lived in the shadows of the American Dream are generally understood as exceptions to the American story, not the rule. Blasphemous facts must be banished from view by a host of public rituals and incantations. We tell ourselves a particular story of the civil rights movement with Rosa Parks refusing to give up her seat and Dr. King dreaming of America as it should be. Our gaze averted, we congratulate ourselves for how far we have come and ruthlessly blame those in the shadows for their plight in life. Our innocence secured, we feel no guilt in enjoying what we have earned by our own merit, in defending our right to educate our children in the best schools and in demanding that we be judged by our ability alone. In this illusion, Trump has to be seen as singular. Otherwise, he reveals something terrible about us. But not to see yourself in Trump is to continue the lie. We must finally reject the lie.

The longing for a time when matters were simpler, and the angst over lost superiority over people of other races and ethnicities, will not disappear on their own. By 2045, America will be a majority minority nation. Demography isn't destiny, and the mere fact that white people will be a minority does not guarantee the country will suddenly become a more racially just society.

But something fundamental is changing. As a country, we have been at the crossroads before—the Civil War, Reconstruction, the New Deal, the civil rights movement—and found ourselves with a choice to be otherwise. In each moment, no matter the possibilities in front of us or the significant changes in our social imaginations, the country held tightly to its prejudices and its unseemly beliefs about the value of white people. Trump broke the post–civil rights consensus that America would keep its racism quiet. He has unwittingly cracked a pernicious impediment—one we still hear in those who in one breath decry his explicit racism and then accept policies and positions that stoke the flames of white racial resentment. Surprisingly, though, Trump has provided us another choice, another chance.

What has for so long been hidden—or willfully ignored—is now in the open. Americans will have to decide whether or not this country will remain racist. To make that decision, we will have to avoid the trap of placing the burden of our national sins on the shoulders of Donald Trump. We must address not just the nasty words, but also the policies and the practices. We need to look inward. Trump is us or, better, you. And by the irony of history, my fate and my son's safety are bound up with you.

How do we clear the space—Can we clear it?—to debate states' rights, to argue over the necessity of a social safety net, to haggle over policing and prisons or to fight about the importance of public education without the undertow of racial animus and without the attribution of bad faith? I am convinced that, if we are to imagine the country as a genuinely multiracial democracy, we have to tell ourselves a better story about who we are, how we ended up here and why we keep returning to this hell. No more Pollyannaish tales about the inherent greatness of America. Ours is a history of not just obvious racist monsters but also of lily white communities with nice picket fences and good schools, of concerning comfort, of fits and starts and abject failure—rife with ordinary people doing horrific and, sometimes, courageous things.

Perhaps Samuel Beckett's words from his 1983 novella, *Worstward Ho,* offer a more appropriate (and humble) approach to the crisis we now face: "Ever tried. Ever failed. No matter. Try again. Fail again. Fail better." Forward movement is halting, inhibited, interrupted. Our history, if we're honest, suggests we will fail. No matter. We go on—together. □

firsts

women who are changing the world

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PHOTOGRAPH BY SIMONE LUECK FOR TIME

Beth Ford

First openly gay woman to become CEO of a Fortune *500 company*

When Beth Ford was in her 30s, working in book publishing in New York City, she took a jog by the river with the woman who would become her wife. Ford knew that many face workplace discrimination for being gay, but when they bumped into her CEO on the street, she took a chance and introduced Jill Schurtz as her partner. She was confident that she could be a leader without hiding her identity.

Now, two decades later, Ford is a CEO herself. The 54-year-old mother of three from Iowa was named chief executive of Land O'Lakes on July 26, making her not only one of 25 women to lead *Fortune* 500 companies but also the first ever openly gay woman to hold that position.

Since taking the role, Ford has spent packed days meeting shareholders and board members, assembling her team and traveling the country to meet with farmers. After a career that

has carried her from Columbia Business School to Mobil and Pepsi and eventually to the CEO spot at Land O'Lakes, she's ready to lead 10,000 employees across the company's multiple dairy and agriculture businesses. And she'd much rather discuss what she sees as the great challenge of her work—helping farmers feed a growing world population with shrinking resources—than her personal life. "I'm being announced as a CEO," she says. "Not a woman CEO, an Iowan CEO or a gay CEO."

The press release announcing Ford's appointment focused on her achievements and abilities and ended with a simple statement that she lives in Minneapolis with Schurtz and their three teenagers. Still, many noticed, and letters poured in from the LGBTQ community and beyond. "Everybody in life has something that makes them feel, Can I be comfortable being who I am?" Ford says. "To hear from parents of children who are afraid, to hear from professionals, men and women, who are challenged, I want to say to them, You're O.K., just who you are."

As open as Ford is able to be today, she realizes it's not the same for everyone—and looks back on times when she had to make tough choices. When she was younger, moving up the ladder in conservative companies, Ford wasn't always in a position to share her identity. But since she met Schurtz and realized they wanted to raise kids together, at about the time of that New York City jog, Ford has led with her family—which has sometimes meant missing out on opportunities. She has considered jobs in cities that are less friendly to the LGBTQ community and, thinking of how that might affect her kids, turned them down. One prospective employer in a city Ford declines to name said there were "pockets" of the town where they'd be accepted. "I don't need to be in a pocket," she says. "I need to live a good, full life." And now, she does.

—LUCY FELDMAN

MOLLY MATALON FOR TIME

Simone Askew

First black woman to lead the Corps of Cadets at West Point

"Coming into the Military Academy, where the ratio is about 80% men to 20% women, didn't have a huge impact at first. I was blessed to have great mentors who really encouraged and empowered me. But now I see how the imbalance affects the dynamics not only between men and women at the academy but also between the women here. Because we're such a small minority, there is a sense of having to compensate for what people might think is an inherent weakness or deficit. I need to be on the top of my game. That feeling of being acutely aware of my gender is most apparent when I receive criticism from people who don't know me. You just have to wonder, if they have no idea who I am and have never met me to assess my weaknesses or my strengths, why are they so angry about my achievements? But I never saw my race or gender as a roadblock to me being selected or even for me being competitive as a candidate. I resolved in elementary school that if someone didn't like me because of things I couldn't change, then that was their problem. I wasn't chosen to be the first. I was chosen to be the First Captain."

'I wasn't chosen to be the first. I was chosen to be the First Captain.'

Askew, now a Rhodes scholar, graduated from West Point in May

BROUGHT TO YOU BY Ford

In 1997, Gupta received a certificate commemorating three decades at Ford.

The Engineer: A Ford First

DAMYANTI GUPTA IS THE FIRST WOMAN WITH AN ADVANCED ENGINEERING DEGREE WHO WORKED FOR THE FORD MOTOR COMPANY.

AT 13, DAMYANTI (RANI) GUPTA FOUND HER calling. Before hearing Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru address a crowd in the small Indian city where her family lived, she had never even heard the word "engineer." But Nehru impressed upon the young people in the crowd, particularly the girls, the importance of the profession for creating industry in a country that had spent 200 years under British rule. "That day, I went home and told my mom that I would become one of the first female engineers," Gupta recalls.

While working toward her engineering degree in India—a situation so rare that the college had to build a restroom for her—she came across a biography of Henry Ford, and started dreaming of joining the company he had built. Gupta's mother, whom she considers "a visionary," took a risk by giving her eldest daughter all the savings that she and her husband had amassed so that she could come to America. Gupta refused to let her mother down, first receiving an advanced degree in Mechanical Engineering at Oklahoma State and then heading to the Motor City in January 1967. She didn't have a car or snow boots when she arrived in Michigan.

"I'LL NEVER DICTATE WHAT MY FIVE GRANDDAUGHTERS SHOULD BE, AS LONG AS THEY WORK HARD, HAVE PASSION AND REALIZE THEY CAN ALSO ONE DAY BE A 'FIRST.'"

Gupta applied for various engineering positions at Ford. "We have no females here," an HR person informed her. "I told him, 'I'm here, and unless you hire me, you'll never have any.'" Eventually, she was given a chance and remained with the company for more than 30 years. Together with her husband, Subhash, a retired engineer whom she met in the U.S., Gupta raised two sons, Sanjay, chief medical correspondent for CNN, and Suneel, who recently ran for Congress.

A true groundbreaker, Gupta has inspired countless young women to pursue engineering careers.

To see more about Gupta's groundbreaking endeavors, go to time.com/ford-engineer.

Firsts

Amy Sherald

First black woman to paint an official First Lady portrait

'I got a heart transplant at 39. Then at 42, I found out that Michelle Obama chose me [to paint] her official portrait. People who don't quit eventually rise to the top, because the world is full of quitters.'

JODY ROGAC FOR TIME

Lindsey Vonn

First American woman to win Olympic gold in downhill skiing

"My mom had a stroke when she gave birth to me. I feel like all of my injuries are nothing compared to what she's had to go through. She never complains. So I just shut my mouth, and I keep working. I've never really thought about quitting after my injuries, but when I broke my arm and I lost all feeling and function of my hand, that really scared me—and I've never really been scared about anything in my life before. Not being able to brush my teeth or put my hair tie on or hold a spoon to my mouth, that was a pretty shocking experience. It definitely made me question, Why am I doing this? But like all the other times before, the love of the sport is what brought me back, and knowing that I still have things that I want to accomplish to be able to say, O.K., I did the best I could. Now it's time to move on.

"At the end of the day, ski racing is a crazy sport. We're all going to crash at some point. No matter what setback you face, if you continue to work hard and don't give up, you can overcome anything."

PHOTOGRAPH BY KENDRICK BRINSON FOR TIME

Young Jean Lee

First Asian-American woman to write a play produced on Broadway

You've said you couldn't picture yourself working in theater, even though you loved seeing shows as a child. Why not? When I tried to join my school's drama club, the drama teacher said, "Well, we're doing *Oklahoma!*, and there are no Asians in *Oklahoma!*" That's probably a big part of the reason why I didn't start theater practice until I was 28, 29 years old—it's amazing how these things that you're told when you're young have this impact on you. But when I moved to New York and got into this world of experimental theater, there was a real effort toward inclusion. When I showed up on the scene as an Asian-American female, people really wanted to support me. If I had come here and said I want to be on Broadway right away, I would have had a much rockier path.

Your play *Straight White Men* opened on Broadway in July, making you a "first." What does that mean to you? I know it's something that I'm supposed to be really excited about, and I am very grateful. But 2018 seems too late to have the first Asian-American female [playwright] on Broadway, and it's always made me a little bit sad to think about.

Your work tackles struggles faced by people of all identities. How do you write about things you haven't experienced? I'm not really a normal playwright who just writes a play by herself at her desk and then gives it to a director and a producer. I can write about identities outside of my own because I'm collaborating with the actors who are from that identity group to make a show for them.

Do you have advice for aspiring playwrights? Practice kindness toward yourself as a writer, because the biggest obstacles I see get in writers' ways are these critical monsters in their heads that tell them what they're writing isn't good enough. Absolutely do not beat yourself up. You can be mean later on when you're polishing. —LUCY FELDMAN

JUNE CANEDO FOR TIME

Time Off

MEET THE PRESS
Candice Bergen returns to CBS as Murphy Brown, as the show's revival takes on today's politics

INSIDE

ALL THE SHOWS YOU NEED TO WATCH THIS FALL

A WINNING NETFLIX ROM-COM ABOUT A SUPPOSED LOSER

PAUL MCCARTNEY RETURNS WITH A BOLD NEW SOUND

PHOTOGRAPH BY JOJO WHILDEN

TELEVISION

Murphy Brown heads back to work

By Susanna Schrobsdorff

ON A STICKY AUGUST NIGHT AT A RESTAURANT near the Kaufman Astoria Studios in Queens, N.Y., the reunited cast, writers and staff of CBS's *Murphy Brown,* including Candice Bergen, are gathered for a drink and some food after a taping of the reboot of the iconic 1990s newsroom comedy. The series hasn't premiered yet, and there's a kind of wobbly joy in the room.

Most of the characters are familiar. Viewers will remember Murphy's colleagues Corky (Faith Ford) and Frank (Joe Regalbuto) and her producer Miles (Grant Shaud). Then there are new additions like Nik Dodani as the social-media editor dragging the olds into the digital era and Tyne Daly as Phyllis the barkeep—as well as Jake McDorman, who plays Murphy's now-grown son Avery.

But beyond the new characters, there's also a new challenge: making a scripted show about journalists at a fake cable-news program who cover the presidency of a former reality-TV star who calls real journalists purveyors of fake news. It's beyond meta. And in an era of reboots and revivals that range from bland *(Fuller House)* to lightning rod *(Roseanne), Murphy Brown* is re-entering the television landscape at a particularly auspicious moment. It's a network show with aims as lofty as the many timely prestige shows on streaming and premium platforms. But it's still a show filmed in front of a live audience, with sitcom beats familiar to anyone who watched TV in the '80s and '90s.

The Sept. 21, 1992, cover of TIME

Show creator Diane English brings up another problem: How do you write an entertaining show about cable news when your competition is the 24-hour drama of actual cable news? "You think you're going out on a limb and then you turn on the TV or you read the paper and something has been said like [Rudy] Giuliani saying truth is not the truth," she says. "If we had ever written that, we would go, That's ridiculous. But it has found its way into this week's episode, because it's a brilliant comedic line coming from a real person who took it very seriously."

The membrane between reality and fiction, entertainment and news have been porous for a while, but on the *Murphy Brown* set, there's no separation. At that afternoon's taping, Bergen, now 72, unleashed an epic speech about a multiple-shirt-wearing character called Ed Shannon. It's up there with any of Murphy's classic takedowns. (Like the time she testified before Congress: "How can you claim to serve the public interest when the public is fed up with you?" asks a Senator. She answers: "Senator, I think what the public is fed up with is seeing their tax dollars spent on tropical vacations, health-club memberships and parking privileges for their elected representatives.")

From a 1993 episode: Bergen, Charles Kimbrough, John Hostetter, Shaud, Regalbuto and Ford

It just so happens that Shannon looks a lot like Stephen Bannon, President Donald Trump's former campaign CEO and noted right-wing nationalist. The live audience cheers when Murphy calls men like him dinosaurs who will end up "extinct and in a museum with a gin and tonic in a gold diorama." She hammers it home: "Underneath all that clothing is a white guy scared of losing his place at the table."

The script of this one episode hits every raw spot in the American psyche right now—from immigration to office sexism. And it only gets more relevant

PREVIOUS PAGE: CBS; THESE PAGES: BROWN: WARNER BROS./COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION; JAMES: HBO; ROBERTS: AMAZON; PENN: HULU; STONE: NETFLIX

from there. Murphy's staff gets into a familiar journalistic debate over whether to have Shannon on the show to promote his book. One side argues that they would be normalizing a guy they see as a racist, but the network executives vote for having Murphy eviscerate him on camera because the ratings would be huge.

The words *Nazi* and *libtards* pop up, and the conversations feel a lot like the fights happening in kitchens and living rooms and break rooms across the country. The show is funny, but it's undergirded by the national pain many feel. "We look at each other after the end of each scene and say, This show is so fearless," says Bergen. "They take on everything and everyone."

When Laura Krafft, the writer of the Ed Shannon episode, walks into the post-shoot restaurant gathering, people clap as she moves through the tables. She nailed it, but she will have no idea how well she captured the moment until a week after taping when the real Stephen Bannon is invited to be interviewed onstage at the New Yorker Festival and the Internet ignites in outrage. Even *New Yorker* employees threaten to boycott along with the punditocracy. We won't spoil what happens on the show, but in real life, editor David Remnick withdrew his invitation to Bannon within hours.

The Internet blew up. Again.

WHAT THIS EPISODE and all of the new episodes, which premieres on CBS on Sept. 27, tap into is an American culture clash wherein real injustice and perceived slights are covered with equal intensity. And perhaps the greatest division of all surrounds which voices deserve to be heard and which are too damaging to be amplified. Which is not to say that the show's perspective is only progressive. The new *Murphy Brown* goes right to the marrow when it comes to the Trump Administration, but there's a connection to his supporters via Corky, who, like Faith Ford herself, is from Louisiana and still lives there when she's not filming. "I'm hoping that I can bridge some sort of gap here because I've been doing it in Louisiana for a long time," says Ford. "I absolutely understand both sides because I live in the middle."

And Murphy's son Avery works as a liberal reporter for a rival conservative network called Wolf. Jake McDorman, 32, says his character may be more compassionate toward the right than Murphy because he spent the 2016 campaign out on the road talking to people all over the country. "He realizes that a lot of these people were just disgusted with the fact that they felt like they had no choice but to vote for Trump," says McDorman.

Bergen says that she's bracing herself for criticism from the right. After all, it won't be the first time that her fictional character has struck a real-world nerve. In 1992, more than three years into its decade-long run on air, Murphy became a single mom. The next day, Vice President Dan Quayle accused the show of "mocking" the importance of fatherhood. The left rose up in revolt at the idea that there was only one kind of family. Two days later, the story was on the front page of the New York

BIG STARS ON THE SMALL SCREEN

Oscar winners and MVPs make debuts as leads in new television series this fall.
—Eliana Dockterman

LEBRON JAMES
The Shop (HBO)
The Laker hosts a talk show in a barbershop and debates issues like "Who is the greatest of all time?" with athletes and artists. (Aug. 28)

JULIA ROBERTS
Homecoming (Amazon)
The A-lister stars as a soldier's caseworker in a psychological thriller based on the popular podcast. (Nov. 2)

SEAN PENN
The First (Hulu)
House of Cards creator Beau Willimon's new show centers on a human mission to Mars, with Penn as a trailblazing astronaut. (Sept. 14)

EMMA STONE
Maniac (Netflix)
The Oscar winner stars opposite Jonah Hill in a sci-fi series about patients in an experimental drug trial who begin to hallucinate. (Sept. 21)

Times. English marvels at how little has changed since then. She even used a clip of Quayle criticizing Murphy in a subsequent episode. For her, everything is copy.

Murphy became the face of the culture wars, appearing on a TIME cover headlined "Hollywood & Politics" in which Lance Morrow wrote: "What is occurring today is a war of American myths, a struggle of contending stories. And pop culture, often television, is the arena in which it is being fought … On certain levels, the U.S. is a dangerously splintered and tribal country."

IN THE '90S, Murphy was certainly controversial. But in 2018, her mere existence on TV is political. In reprising her role as the acerbic and unapologetic Murphy, a role that earned her five Emmys and the devotion of a generation of young women who had never seen a boss like her on TV, Bergen has the chance to reach a new audience. "[Murphy] made her way in a man's world," says English. "People loved somebody who didn't have that filter, who just really spoke her mind. She was most definitely a feminist but she didn't walk around calling herself that. She just did it." Both English and Bergen say they have heard from women who grew up with Murphy—who was in her 40s during the show's original run—as a role model, someone who rebuilt her career after struggling with alcoholism and then started her family late.

And now, Murphy, like a Rip van Winkle of news, must learn to operate at the speed of social media after more than 20 years away. And again there's no one quite like Bergen on TV, an actor in her 70s leading a prime-time comedy created by another woman over 70, Diane English. What are the odds? In fact there's no lead woman on the show under 50. (Faith Ford is in her early 50s, and Tyne Daly is also over 70.) "Maybe we're going to be an example once again at this age," says English. "We're most definitely showing that we're not done. We have plenty to offer."

As high as the stakes are for *Murphy Brown*'s second life, Bergen says she feels liberated now. "After 70, you have an angel on your shoulder." ◻

CREATIVE MINDS AT WORK

Many of television's most lauded creators and writers are returning this fall with buzzy new shows. —E.D.

THE ROMANOFFS (AMAZON)
In each episode, *Mad Men* creator **Matthew Weiner**'s new miniseries spotlights different characters, like **Marthe Keller, Inès Melab** and **Aaron Eckhart** *(above)*. But they all harbor delusions of grandeur: characters in each story claim to be descended from the Russian royal family. (Oct. 12)

REL (FOX)
A year after his beloved series *The Carmichael Show* was canceled, writer-producer **Jerrod Carmichael** is teaming up with *Get Out*'s **Lil Rel Howery** *(above)* for a new comedy about a man going through a divorce. (Sept. 9)

I FEEL BAD (NBC)
Television vet **Aseem Batra**'s new series follows a working mom played by *Blockers*' **Sarayu Rao** *(above)* who feels guilty about falling short of her own high expectations—executive-produced by **Amy Poehler.** (Oct. 4)

KIDDING (SHOWTIME)
Weeds writer **Dave Holstein** asks, "What if Mr. Rogers came unraveled?" **Jim Carrey** *(above)* plays a children's-show host, who, after a tragedy, struggles to contain the anger and sadness that doesn't fit his onscreen persona. (Sept. 9)

CAMPING (HBO)
Jennifer Garner and **David Tennant** *(above)* team up with *Girls* creators **Lena Dunham** and **Jenni Konner** for a comedy series about a celebratory camping trip that goes terribly—and hilariously—awry. (Oct. 14)

WHAT TO WATCH, BASED ON YOUR TASTE

Yes, there's too much TV—and nobody can keep up with all the series hitting network, cable and streaming services this fall. Yet favorite past binges can predict future loves. Just follow our formula. —E.D.

If you liked ... **SONS OF ANARCHY**

Charlie Hunnam

you should watch ... **MAYANS M.C. (FX)**

J.D. Pardo

The *Sons of Anarchy* spin-off follows Ezekiel "EZ" Reyes, a Stanford student pulled into the illegal activities of the Mayans Motorcycle Club. (Sept. 4)

If you liked ... **LOST**

Evangeline Lilly

you should watch ... **MANIFEST (NBC)**

Melissa Roxburgh

After a turbulent but routine flight, passengers disembark to find that the world believes their plane has been missing for five years. (Sept. 24)

If you liked ... **THIS IS US**

Sterling K. Brown

you should watch ... **A MILLION LITTLE THINGS (ABC)**

Ron Livingston

One man's suicide brings a group of estranged friends back together to support one another—and investigate why his death occurred. (Sept. 26)

If you liked ... **FRIDAY NIGHT LIGHTS**

Kyle Chandler

you should watch ... **ALL AMERICAN (THE CW)**

Taye Diggs

A football player from South Central L.A. earns the chance to play football at Beverly Hills High. Drama builds both on and off the field as the two worlds—divided by money—clash. (Oct. 10)

If you liked ... **ROSEANNE**

Roseanne Barr

you should watch ... **THE CONNERS (ABC)**

Laurie Metcalf

ABC cut ties with Roseanne Barr, but her TV family will remain on the air: Dan and Jackie will continue to struggle with financial and familial problems on a new show. (Oct. 16)

If you liked ... **THE DAILY SHOW**

Trevor Noah

you should watch ... **PATRIOT ACT WITH HASAN MINHAJ (NETFLIX)**

Hasan Minhaj

The *Daily Show* alum, best known for his comedic storytelling style, will use his talents weekly to explore politics. (Oct. 28)

If you liked ... **RIVERDALE**

Camila Mendes

you should watch ... **CHILLING ADVENTURES OF SABRINA (NETFLIX)**

Kiernan Shipka

The creator of *Riverdale* twists another comic into a dark drama: witch Sabrina battles high school bullies and Satan himself. (Oct. 26)

If you liked ... **THE NIGHT MANAGER**

Hugh Laurie

you should watch ... **THE LITTLE DRUMMER GIRL (AMC & BBC)**

Alexander Skarsgard

In the latest John le Carré adaptation, Alexander Skarsgard plays an Israeli agent who entangles an English actor in a web of spies. (Nov. 19)

THE ROMANOFFS: AMAZON; REL: FOX; I FEEL BAD: NBC; KIDDING: SHOWTIME; CAMPING, SONS OF ANARCHY, LOST, RIVERDALE: SHUTTERSTOCK; MAYANS M.C.: FX; MANIFEST: NBC/WARNER BROS.; SABRINA: NETFLIX; THIS IS US, FRIDAY NIGHT LIGHTS, ROSEANNE, THE CONNERS, NOAH, MINHAJ: GETTY IMAGES; A MILLION LITTLE THINGS: ABC; ALL AMERICAN: THE CW; THE NIGHT MANAGER, THE LITTLE DRUMMER GIRL: THE INK FACTORY/AMC

Purser and Froseth, cooking up a scheme that backfires

MOVIES

When great kids do not-so-great things

By Stephanie Zacharek

TEENAGERS OFTEN DO TERRIBLE things, to themselves and to others; the road to becoming honorable adults is sometimes paved with a few stones of cruelty. In the sweet, smart Netflix-produced romantic comedy *Sierra Burgess Is a Loser,* Shannon Purser (who played cult favorite Barb in *Stranger Things*) stars as high school senior Sierra, a bright, reasonably confident young woman who knows she falls short of the beauty standards that teenagers set up for themselves: she's curvy and a little socially awkward, but mostly she's getting by just fine. Then one of the class mean girls, haughty beauty Veronica (Kristine Froseth), plays a prank on her, passing her number along to a good-looking football star from another school, Jamey (Noah Centineo). Jamey texts Sierra, thinking he's talking to Veronica. Flattered by the attention—though she knows it's not meant for her—Sierra keeps up the charade, eventually drawing Veronica into the scheme. The two become tentative friends as the deception escalates, though someone is bound to get hurt.

In its best moments, *Sierra Burgess,* directed by Ian Samuels and written by Lindsey Beer, has the charm of a Shakespearean mistaken-identity gambol. The movie stumbles in places, working a little too hard to vilify certain secondary characters. But the charm of the lead actors wins out. Centineo has the shambling appeal of a junior Mark Ruffalo. His Jamey is a nice kid with no idea of how good-looking he is: when he sends Sierra an awkward shirtless selfie, he's unaware of his Adonis-like power. Froseth's Veronica is the ice queen who gradually thaws out, also thawing *us* out when her vulnerabilities become clear.

Purser is a radiant presence, unafraid to reckon with how unlikable some of Sierra's behavior is. Pushed to the breaking point by her own frustration—she's sure she could never get a guy like Jamey on her own—Sierra stages a betrayal that's almost shockingly out of character. Yet Purser makes you believe in it. Even nice kids can behave badly when the things they want most seem tantalizingly out of reach. Purser helps us see that cruelty for what it is: a learning curve that can be as radical as a hairpin turn. ◻

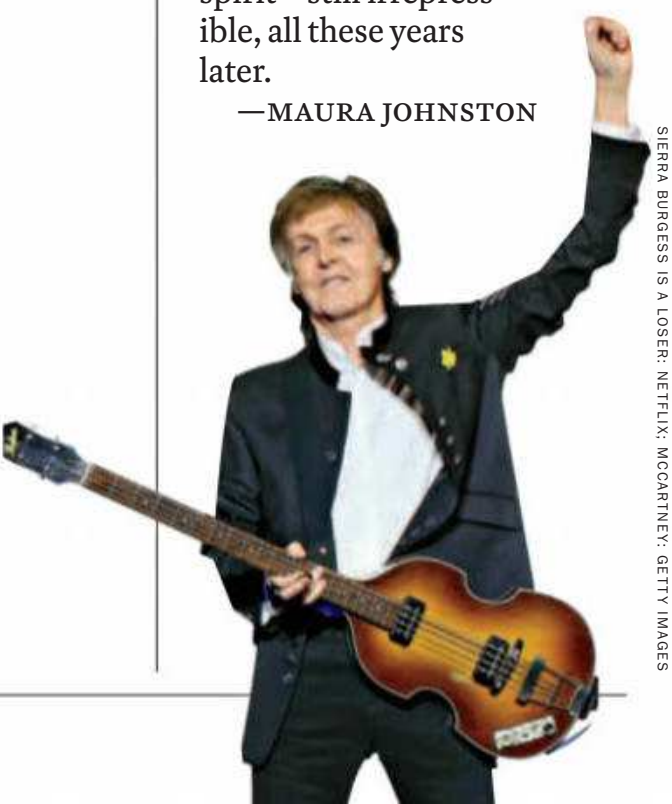
MUSIC

Paul McCartney stays curious

PAUL MCCARTNEY'S ACCUmulated discography is among the most impressive in pop. But as he's demonstrated in recent years—in his collaborations with Kanye West and Rihanna, and in marathon live shows—the former Beatle and forever member of rock's highest echelons has little interest in being content with his achievements. *Egypt Station,* the 76-year-old legend's 17th solo album, puts McCartney's boundless curiosity on loving display, balancing instantly hummable ditties with intrepid rock explorations.

Recorded with superproducer Greg Kurstin (Tegan and Sara, Adele, Beck), *Egypt Station* has pop confections, like the flirtatious "Come On to Me," which benefit from the pair's attention to detail. But *Egypt Station* really takes flight in its second half, with two final tracks—both six-plus minutes, both stylistic flights of fancy—putting a grandly ambitious bow on the album. It shows McCartney's spirit—still irrepressible, all these years later.

—MAURA JOHNSTON



SIERRA BURGESS IS A LOSER: NETFLIX; MCCARTNEY: GETTY IMAGES

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8 Questions

Beth Macy The best-selling author on dope sickness, the opioid addict next door and holding drug companies accountable

Your new book, *Dopesick: Dealers, Doctors and the Drug Company That Addicted America,* details the opioid crisis in the U.S. When did you first start to look at the opioid epidemic? I was a newspaper reporter in 2012, in Roanoke, Va. I had done reporting about what happens in communities when all the jobs go away. You had these poor, distressed places where people were not only becoming addicted to painkillers, but also starting to sell them as a way to pay their bills. And then you had the same thing happening in the wealthier neighborhoods.

Why do you think it took America so long to wake up to the crisis? I think, partly, the media sort of abandoned rural America just when they needed us most. The newspaper where I worked for many years, the Roanoke *Times,* slowed down coverage of rural areas. We weren't telling this story because we didn't even know it was going on.

Do you think people fully understand the epidemic? A lot of people still don't know about the connection between opioid pills and heroin and fentanyl. Doctors are way better about not giving kids 30 OxyContin for wisdom teeth anymore, but I tell everyone I know: Just be really careful.

Do you think the conversation is changing around medication-assisted treatment (MAT)? [*This method uses medication to temper cravings instead of demanding abstinence.*] The rehab industry grew up treating alcoholism as abstinence-only. Most treatment centers don't allow MATs. People assume they don't want to get better, but I see attitudes starting to change.

Do you think people should be incarcerated for using drugs? No, I don't. There are places in the world that have responded with decriminalization and have gotten their arms around their opioid problems. Look at Portugal. They've done a lot with expanding buprenorphine providers and cutting regulations, and they've cut overdose deaths by quite a lot. We have more than 2 million people with opioid-use disorders in the U.S. Now, do the doctors need to prescribe less? Yes. But the horse is already out of the barn. We need to treat addiction as the medical problem that it is.

'DO THE DOCTORS NEED TO PRESCRIBE LESS? YES. BUT THE HORSE IS ALREADY OUT OF THE BARN'

We often see it as a moral failing if people mess up in rehabilitation. How do we get over that? John Kelly [an associate professor of psychiatry at Harvard Medical School] says it takes a typical person with opioid-use disorder four to five treatment attempts and eight years to keep just one year of sobriety. It's a really tough problem to get better from. Hopefully we'll start to see teenagers understanding not to mess with this stuff, not even one time.

What do people learn from listening to people who use drugs? These people are desperate to get treatment; they're desperate to get better. One person in the book says, At the end of your journey, you're not doing it to get high; you're doing it to keep from being dope sick. That's a news flash to a lot of Americans. We need to bring it out from under the rug and start talking about it the way we talk about cancer.

What should happen next? Federal leadership. Accountability from drug companies. Politicians that aren't in the pockets of lobbyists and corporations. Opioid makers reportedly spent more than $880 million on lobbyists and political contributions between 2006 and 2015. That's eight times more than the gun lobbies spent. I try not to be too outraged, but I'm pretty outraged. As somebody in the book says, We should be sending helicopters like we do with Zika. Where's the urgency?

—PAUL MOAKLEY

JOSH MELTZER

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